



HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

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PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES

In Memoriam

PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES

Patrick Cardinal Hayes for thirty years an active member of the United States Catholic Historical Society and its Honorary President from 1919.

Born, November 20, 1867.

Ordained priest, September 8, 1892.

Appointed Auxiliary to the Archbishop of New York, July 3, 1914; Consecrated Titular Bishop of Tagaste, October 28, 1915.

Appointed Bishop Ordinary of the Armed Forces of the United States by the Holy See, November 24, 1917.

Promoted to the See of New York, March 10, 1919.

Created Cardinal Priest with the title of Santa Maria in Via, March 24, 1924.

Died, September 4, 1938.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CHURCH

Paper Read at the General Meeting, December 10, 1937

BY VERY REV. PHILIP J. FURLONG, PH.D.

THE signing of the Constitution of the United States one hundred fifty years ago is being celebrated this year by Americans with a quiet enthusiasm that springs from the conviction that in our dear land liberty has found sanctuary. As American citizens we wholeheartedly share this enthusiasm; as Catholics who must be conscious of the Church's travail in other parts of the world we are grateful to a Divine Providence for granting to us the privilege of birth and life under the Stars and Stripes. As folk interested in history, we feel the obligation to review the facts and to study the stages by which religious freedom in America progressed. In that record the Constitution stands as a most conspicuous historical landmark. In fact, it may be asserted that the political freedom which the Catholic Church in the United States now enjoys was assured when the Constitution was adopted, for anything like genuine freedom of worship had not existed in the thirteen colonies during the colonial period, nor did it have legal existence even after the Declaration of Independence. The fact is that the Constitution promoted religious freedom because within the body of the Constitution itself and in the text of the First Amendment are to be found prohibitions against those twin barriers to practical religious freedom, the religious test for office and the exclusively established Church. In celebrating the signing of the Constitution of the United States, therefore, we are in reality celebrating the coming into being of a powerful force for religious freedom. The proof of this assertion obviously requires some review of the condition of Catholics in colonial times. Before looking into this, however, some clarification of the title of this paper, "The Constitution and the Church," seems advisable.¹

¹See also an article by the same title by Joseph B. Code the *Ecclesiastical*

That part of the Constitution which specifically deals with the question of religious freedom and which, therefore, affects the Church is the conclusion of the Sixth Article of the Constitution which reads: "But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Closely connected in spirit with the Sixth Article is the First Amendment which, with the other nine, constitutes the American Bill of Rights. Although not ratified until 1791, four years after the signing of the Constitution itself, these first ten amendments comprising the Bill of Rights were really the price of ratification. The States would probably not have accepted the Constitution unless it had been certain that these ten amendments would become a part of the fundamental law of the land. There were at least a few who objected to the ratification of the Constitution on the ground that Article VI was too broad and that a fuller statement about religious liberty, such as contained in the First Amendment, was essential. The liberals won the day, although there was opposition; for example, a certain Major Lusk of Massachusetts "shuddered at the idea that papists and pagans might be introduced into office." The more liberal view prevailed.² But besides the guarantees of religious freedom contained in Article VI and in the First Amendment, wherein it is stated that "Congress shall make no law respecting religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," the framers of the Constitution indirectly and probably unconsciously provided another safeguard to fundamental rights by the creation of the Judicial branch of the Federal Government. Whether or not the Founding Fathers may be credited with so much forethought in this matter, it has come to pass that when fundamental rights were involved, as in the case of the Oregon School Law, the Supreme Court upheld these fundamental rights in the most forthright fashion. Since then the signing of the Constitution with the subsequent adoption of the First Amendment marks a definite point in the progress of religious freedom, it is necessary to look back upon the story of the relationship between Church

Review, Vol. xcvii, No. 3 and Millar, M.F.X. "Philosophy of the Constitution," *Thought*, 1938.

²Sanford H. Cobb. "The Rise of Religious Liberty in America," p. 508, New York, 1903.

and State during the two hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the planting of the first permanent English settlement.

The history of the progress of religious freedom in English Colonial America, prior to 1787, falls into three periods, that is to say, an early and a later colonial period and the period of the American Revolution. The reasons for this division will appear as the story unfolds. The first phase, the early colonial period, from the beginnings of the settlements to the year 1691, saw the founding of all the colonies save Georgia. This was the time, therefore, when Pilgrim and Puritan fleeing from the Old World for conscience's sake came to the almost uninhabited new world to raise up a wilderness Zion.³ Other groups also took part in this mighty migration, Quakers, staunch Church of England men, and a few Catholics. Indeed in the case of most of the early comers religion had much to do with their decision to seek new homes. Professor Channing begins his great history of the United States with these trenchant words: "Religious enthusiasm, human affection, the pursuit of gain, these three motives account for the peopling of America by men of European stock and Christian faith." Religion then played a vital part in the peopling of the American wilderness. But the attitude of these "first Americans" towards their own religious system as well as their views about the religious convictions of others is not always clearly understood. Using geography as the basis for a survey, attention first centers upon New England, for the colonists settling in New England had definitely come to America because of the religious situation in the old country. The Pilgrims were the first comers whose advent was occasioned by the efficiency of the persecuting arm of the English government. In England they had maintained their own forms of worship, steadfastly refusing to conform to the Church as by law established. Because of their faith, exile was their portion, and so they made homes in Holland. Life in Holland, however, had its drawbacks and, therefore, a refuge was sought in the New World. Plymouth was the result. But although the Pilgrims had suffered persecution for the sake of their religious convictions, this cruel experience did not lead them to espouse toleration for those who disagreed with them. Toleration was not in the Pilgrim

³T. J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, p. 87, New York, 1927.

vocabulary ; their religious connections were too deep and too sincere and too exclusive. Quakers or Friends coming to Plymouth were scourged and banished, although this was much milder than the treatment the Puritans accorded them, for hangings of Quakers occurred in Boston. Nevertheless, even the milder Pilgrim was determined that outsiders, if possible, should not enter the sacred precincts of Plymouth. To that end the franchise was rigidly restricted to those "of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion." This regulation restricting the suffrage was not extreme for those times, and although the Pilgrim fathers most certainly did not want strangers within the gates, they did not, however, organize intolerance with anything like the efficiency of their Puritan neighbors in Massachusetts Bay.

The religious situation in Puritan Massachusetts Bay is worth noting for several reasons. In Massachusetts the connection between the government and the Church was both intimate and important. Furthermore, the example of Massachusetts in one way or another affected the religious situation elsewhere in the colonies, not only in nearby New Hampshire and New Haven, but also in more distant Maryland and Virginia. Very early in the history of the Massachusetts Bay colony full citizenship was made dependent upon membership in the Congregational Church. This means that, generally speaking, non-Church members were not allowed to dwell within the confines of the Bay Colony. Of course, the suffrage was most carefully restricted, so carefully indeed that the voting and office holding class was a small fraction of the total population.⁴ This appeared to the Puritan mind the most logical of procedures. Their leaders were accustomed to test all things by the Scriptures—especially the Old Testament, wherein they believed they found the justification for their own form of theocratic state.⁵

Passing to the other colonies, the Dutch are found to be temporarily in control of New Netherland. With the coming of the English, it was seen to be impractical to establish the Church of England, and, indeed, the Dutch had insisted that they be allowed freedom of worship. Eventually English Protestantism was virtually established with recognition, however, of the rights of

⁴L. G. Tyler, *England in America*, p. 210.

⁵Charles Edward Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*, p. 5.

the Dutch Reformed Church.⁶ Across the Hudson in the Jerseys a comparable situation existed. Pennsylvania, founded towards the end of the early colonial period, was organized definitely as a refuge for members of the persecuted Society of Friends or Quakers. Probably because the Quakers had known persecution and just possibly because of the example of Calvert in Maryland and Williams in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania was considerably in advance over the other colonies in the matter of toleration, but it is almost certainly true that there was never in provincial Pennsylvania complete religious liberty. In the South, that is to say in Virginia and the Carolinas, the Church was as strongly entrenched as the statutes could arrange it. True, the Protestant Church in the South differed considerably from the official Church of England of which it was supposed to be a counterpart. But the essential matter is this: the Church in the South was Protestant and it was established by law.

Generalizations in history are generally dangerous, yet one may generalize with some correctness concerning the union that existed between the dominant Protestant Church and the government of the several colonies during this early period. Those who were not members of that sect which was the established Church were strangers within the gates. Not only were they not wanted; usually they were not permitted to dwell within the confines of the colony, and if they did, ostracism, if not downright persecution, was their portion. They were compelled to support by taxation a Church in which they did not believe. The treatment accorded Quakers in most places in colonial America during the first decades of the Seventeenth Century included such punishments as fines, whippings, banishment, and in Massachusetts, hanging. The heroic spirit of the Quakers seems to be perfectly summarized in the brief speech of Mary Dyer before she met her death. At the foot of the gallows, Mary Dyer was promised her life if she would simply leave the colony. She answered: "Nay, I cannot. In obedience to the will of God I came and in His will I abide faithful to death."⁷

There were, however, even in those early days, two bright spots,

⁶John Rodgers, *A Brief View of the State of Religious Liberty in New York*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, Ser. 2, vi, p. 140, Boston, 1814.

⁷Leon Whipple, *Our Ancient Liberties*, p. 67, New York, 1927.

Maryland and Rhode Island, and if later each departed from the liberal course set by its founder, something at least must be said for the attempt.⁸ Maryland was the first colony where the ideal of toleration was deliberately put into practice. In the secret instruction issued to the leaders of the expedition to Maryland, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, gave the most explicit directions that even on shipboard as well as later on land no offense be given over matters of religion, the Catholics and the Protestants scrupulously respecting each other's rights. These ideas were incorporated into the oath which was prescribed for officials requiring that no one believing in Jesus Christ be molested on account of religion. And, of course, there is the well known Toleration Act of 1649 which protected all Christians whatever their particular persuasion against any and all disabilities. The franchise was not restricted in Maryland to members of any one sect, because there was then no established Church. Unfortunately, this healthy state of affairs did not last. The Puritans came into Maryland in ever increasing numbers, and although they could worship freely and were not denied the right to vote, they wanted much more.⁹ Shortly they got control of the government in Maryland so completely that no Catholic could be elected as a burgess or even vote in election. In 1654 the Puritan assembly passed an act securing freedom of conscience, but it was made clear, however, that the provisions of this act excluded convictions applied to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion." It happened, however, with some historic justice that in less than forty years the Puritans were given a taste of their own medicine when the Anglicans, clearly a minority, succeeded in having the Anglican Church made the established Church of the Colony. Thereafter, the Puritans obediently paid taxes for the support of a sect they hated.

Rhode Island is always given a special niche in the temple of religious freedom. Whether or not Roger Williams had the slightest intention of seeing Catholics settled within the confines of

⁸See studies by George Petrie, "Church and State in Maryland," *John Hopkins Studies*, IV, Baltimore, 1892; also Paul E. Lauer, *Church and State in New England*, *Ibid.*, II and III.

⁹J. Moss Ives, *The Ark and the Dove*, p. 256, New York, 1936. See also H. S. Spalding, *Catholic Colonial Maryland*, p. 25, Milwaukee, 1931.

his colony is a matter for dispute. There is little reason to believe that he was so liberal; in any case it certainly is true that during the later history of the colony Catholics were disfranchised, and it was not until 1788 that Catholics had the right to vote. What Williams' influence did effect, however, was this: there was toleration for Protestant sects, attendance at church was not compulsory; tithes were not exacted by law for the support of the individual churches and there was no established Church. Williams's liberalizing influence came about possibly because of his notions regarding the rights of freemen. In Massachusetts, for instance, the freemen constituted the voting and the office holding class. They were also the most influential group in Church affairs, yet they were numerically an insignificant part of the population. Williams had opposed this state of affairs. To him a freeman derived his prerogatives not from Church affiliation or social position but because he was a land holder.¹⁰ Curiously enough the property qualification for voters remained so definitely a part of Rhode Island practice that it contributed to the great exodus from that State after the War of 1812 and was the occasion of Dorr's rebellion in 1843. The position of Catholics eventually did improve in Rhode Island, as it did elsewhere, not so much because of a changed view regarding their civil rights, but because of the existence of a liberalizing process wherein all sects were tolerated. A legal reason was, therefore, formulated by means of which Catholics could not only dwell within the limits of a colony but by means of which they also could build their churches. It is most necessary to realize that unless the individual may actively worship and, on the other hand, unless the Church through her officials is free to build churches and schools, maintain a press and carry out a full religious program, freedom of worship has no genuine existence.

The struggle for constitutional government in England which lasted for three fourths of the Seventeenth Century may be said to have culminated in the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of William and Mary. The struggle during its long course had many and varied reactions in the New World. When, for example, earlier in the century, the King and his friends were in the saddle the opposing group found the American wilderness if not a more

¹⁰Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period in American History*, II, p. 106.

desirable at least a safer place in which to live. Similarly when Oliver Cromwell came into power the Cavaliers, though not in as large numbers as once supposed, made a rapid exit from England. This exodus brought to Virginia the Washingtons, the Masons and several other families who distinguished themselves in later American history. The years following 1689 saw definite changes in the alignment of religion and politics in the colonies. There was a growing tendency to permit church members of other than the Established Church to dwell within the sacred precincts of even the more theocratic communities. The disabilities against Quakers were mitigated, if not lifted entirely.

In this connection it ought to be noted that at least some of the prejudice against Quakers arose over the fact that Quakers would not take oaths required of office holders or voters. The substance of these oaths, however, was not the reason why Quakers refused to take them; it was the very act of taking an oath that bothered members of the Society of Friends. Their situation was in marked contrast to the position of Catholics, because Catholics for good and sufficient reasons may take oaths, but it happened that the oath then proffered to Catholics, which generally was a preliminary to voting or office holding, was an oath no Catholic could in conscience take. Oaths of this sort were nothing new. Saint Thomas More's refusal to take the oath acknowledging Henry VIII head of the Church won for More the martyr's crown. Other oaths to vex Catholics were concocted with diabolical ingenuity during Elizabeth's reign. To follow this interesting story would send us along an historical byway: it is merely necessary to remember that although the later colonial period was characterized by a general broadening of political rights and the tendency to make political privilege somewhat independent of Church affiliation, improvement did not take in Catholics. The Act of Parliament of 1689 excluding Catholics in England from holding public office and the Test Act had considerable influence in the Colonies. The Governors of the royal Colonies were instructed to see that councillors and other officials appointed by them take the prescribed oath, which, of course, no Catholic could take.¹¹

¹¹The Declaration of Test: "I, *A. B.*, doe declare that I doe believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in

In New York and New Hampshire,¹² this iniquitous oath could be exacted from any male over sixteen. The spirit of intolerance soon infected all the colonies, so that with the exception of Rhode Island the test oath could be required everywhere. Nevertheless, while the pre-revolutionary period marked a setback for Catholics there were signs of the coming into existence of forces which eventually would break that "government of Godly Men" of John Winthrop and those of the Puritan tradition. While it would hardly be safe to generalize, it is probably correct to say that the later Colonial period was characterized by greater religious toleration, at least among Protestant sects. A practical arrangement along these lines had already been worked out in New York. When the Dutch surrendered New Amsterdam in 1664 to the English, it was with the understanding that "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and Church discipline," and this is also made clear in the instructions of the Duke of York, "In all territories of his royal highness liberty of conscience is allowed in the exercise of the Protestant religion." Consequently, when the Anglicans attempted to foist their Church as a properly established State Church upon the Colony of New York, the attempt failed.¹³

The struggle of Catholics for religious freedom required victories on two fronts, that is to say the Protestant State Church of whatever sort had to be disestablished and test oaths had to be abolished. In addition to these barriers to religious freedom, there were the severe penal laws in several of the States. But in the main disestablishment and abolition of the test oath were the barriers to be removed. The approach of the American Revolution marked the first though very faint signs of the coming of a better day for Catholics.

the Elements of Bread and Wine, at, or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." 25 *Charles II, Cap. 2, § 8 (Statutes of the Realm V, 784)*. New Hampshire has perhaps the least enviable record for religious toleration. See Joseph Francis Thorning: *Religious Liberty in Transition*, Washington, 1931.

¹²Frank Hayden Miller, *Legal Qualifications for Office in America*, American Historical Association, Report 1899, p. 89.

¹³"State of Religious Liberty in New York." Read before the convention of Delegates from Associated Churches of Connecticut, Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1773; Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, Sec. II, p. 140.

The Revolutionary period is so frequently thought of in terms of military operations that its essential political character often escapes notice. For it was during these Revolutionary years that the principle incorporated in Article VI of the Constitution as well as that formulated in the First Amendment began to impress statesmen. The American Revolution itself moved by swift stages. Peaceful resistance to England became armed resistance. The Declaration of Independence followed, which, of course, had to be made good by the victory of Washington's forces. In the meantime, The States began to frame new Constitutions of their own. These Constitutions specify usually the qualifications for office holding. They follow the earlier colonial precedents requiring both property and religious qualifications of voters and prospective office seekers. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new Constitutions of seven of the States disqualified Catholics from holding office. All except New York and Rhode Island required some sort of religious test. The nature of these tests was a statement of belief in Protestantism. There were what amounted to State Churches in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and in New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia it was definitely stipulated that the Governor be Protestant. (The State Constitution of New Hampshire limiting the Governorship to a Protestant remained in force for one hundred years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.) The position of the Churches in the several Colonies, as defined by the State Constitutions, shows the dominance of Protestantism. The Constitution of New Jersey—July 2, 1776 states: "That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in the province in preference to another, and that no protestant inhabitants of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right . . . but all persons professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect . . . shall be capable of being elected to any public office. . . ." ¹⁴

Pennsylvania, July 15; September 28, 1776 is on the contrary genuinely liberal, for the State Constitution declares: "That no man ought or of right be compelled to attend any religious worship or erect or support any place of worship . . . contrary or against his

¹⁴Glasgow, reprinted by J. Bryce, by order of Congress, *A Collection of the Constitutions of the Thirteen United States of North America*, p. 95, Philadelphia, 1783.

free will."¹⁵ This sentiment is also characteristic of Delaware's Constitution. The Constitution of Maryland in this matter is somewhat ambiguous, for it says that the "legislature may in their discretion lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion."¹⁶ It would be strange reasoning to say that the Constitution means that Catholics may not share in a general tax except to pay it.

The Constitution of South Carolina is most forthright. It says: "The Christian Protestant Religion shall be deemed and is hereby constituted and declared to be the established religion of this State." (March 19, 1778.)¹⁷

In the same spirit the delegates to the Massachusetts State Convention 1779-1780 in framing the Constitution provided through that document that the towns be authorized to collect taxes for "public protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality." This in effect established Congregationalism, though elsewhere the Constitution states that "no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law." All these various kinds of religious qualifications for office were still regarded as proper even after the enunciation of the high sounding sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, which in practice really meant that all men are equal except Catholics.

That the statesmen of the Continental Congress could be guilty of contradictory sentiments appears clearly in the *Address to the People of Great Britain*, October 21, 1774; *Address to the Canadians*, October 26, 1774; *Petition to the King*, October 26, 1774.¹⁸

During the Revolutionary period, therefore, Protestantism still colored political life. Some religious test for holders of political office was upheld at least by popular sentiment. Nevertheless, the forces of toleration were at work. They made their first statement in the Virginia Declaration of Rights. This famous document antedates the Declaration of Independence by several weeks. Its Sixteenth Article is of special interest. The text reads in part: "All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." While these are noble words, in

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 99; ¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 136; ¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁸Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 80.

their practical operation they meant little at that moment, for the Anglican Church still remained the established Church in Virginia and it was supported by public taxation. Nevertheless, the Virginia Declaration of Rights pointed, though somewhat uncertainly, towards the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution of fifteen years later. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 marked further progress. This Ordinance has been the object of almost extravagant praise; indeed it has been called the most important law passed by the United States. However this may be, the Ordinance looked to the setting up of certain legal and ethical standards so that a vast territory might be peopled with men of pioneer spirit. In vision, liberality and practicality this Ordinance transcends all legislation formulated in the original thirteen States. Part of this Ordinance is worth quoting:

Art. I. No person shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments.

Art. III. Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Incidentally, that phrase "religion and morality" was to appear again in Washington's Farewell Address wherein the First President warns: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports." The close of the Revolutionary period, therefore, saw the cause of religious liberty definitely gaining. Americans had come a long way from the days of Increase Mather who denounced "the hideous clamours for liberty of conscience"; seconded by Thomas Shepard's remark: "'Tis Satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration," a remark which needs correction, for then there was no thought whatever of even slight toleration.¹⁹ But two hundred fifty years usually see great changes in a pioneer community and, therefore, the New World of 1787 was vastly different from the New World of the first half of the sixteen hundreds.

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention who met in Philadelphia during the hot summer of 1787 with the intention of

¹⁹J. F. Jameson, ed., *Original Narratives of Early American History*, p. 41, New York, 1906.

framing an effective government for the United States had behind them a body of social, political and religious traditions which had flourished during the colonial and revolutionary periods. Specifically, the delegates were acquainted with a tradition concerning an established Church and they came from communities where religious tests for voting and for public office were considered sound practice. Yet the delegates to the Convention at once broke directly with one of these practices, the religious test, and they at least pointed the way for the elimination of a State Church, an idea which was incorporated into the First Amendment. In appraising the possible influence of Article VI of the Constitution as well as that of the First Amendment, it must be borne in mind that the States were then supreme in certain matters as they are today. Nevertheless, the fact that the Constitution forbade the United States government to exact a religious test for those holding office must have exerted some liberalizing influence upon the States. At any rate, in all State Constitutions adopted after 1792, whether those of the original Thirteen or the newer States, religious tests for public office were never required. There were substituted, however, in some an acknowledgment of a belief in God and in a future state or a belief in a Supreme Being. Catholics, of course, benefited by these measures. Sometimes it has been asserted that Article VI was written into the Constitution as a token of appreciation for the part Catholics played in the Revolution. It is true that Catholics in the Colonies in proportion to their numbers gave exceptionally loyal support to the Revolution, and that in spite of the fact that they had little reason to suppose that their lot would be improved. Some like Stephen Moylan, Charles Carroll and John Barry rendered conspicuous service to the cause. The aid of France, then officially Catholic, made possible final victory for the Americans, for it is hard to see how the Revolution could have succeeded without the aid of France. But while these services were acknowledged, especially by Washington in his address to the Catholics,²⁰ the services of Catholics to the cause of freedom cannot be said to have had anything like a determining influence in the writing of Article VI of the Constitution. However this may be, Catholics were the beneficiaries of the tradition established by this Article.

²⁰Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, pp. 366-367.

The other factor in the liberalizing process, the disestablishment of the Church, was at least indicated by the First Amendment which states that: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It is true that disestablishment already had been written into law in Virginia when in 1786 the legislature passed an *Act for Establishing Religious Freedom*. This act effectively disestablished the Episcopal Church and put all sects on the same legal basis. It is probably true, however, that it was the First Amendment which was ultimately responsible for the coming into being of the principle of separation of Church and State. Of this tradition Professor Hart has written: "Among the strongest forces molding American society is a principle commonly called the separation of Church and State, which is almost unexampled in the earlier history of the world and has powerfully reacted in America both upon religion and government."²¹ In considering the possible influence of the First Amendment upon the development of the practice of the separation of Church and State, it is important once more to recall that the States in many matters were still sovereign. Therefore, those who framed the First Amendment and supported its adoption were merely restraining the government of the United States from establishing a national Church. In theory, each State, if it chose, could have had a State Church and as a matter of fact Protestantism still remained established in various States of the original Thirteen, but if we may credit the First Amendment with setting before the American people the ideal of a free Church in a free State, the established Church in those States where it still had legal existence was definitely doomed.

To decide to what precise extent each of the several influences operated to bring about separation of Church and State in the individual States of the United States is beyond this survey. There were several influences, not the least important being the rivalry among Protestant sects and the unpopularity of the legally established Church in individual States. Thus in Virginia the frontier influence associated with Presbyterianism became stronger, while the Anglican Church associated with the Tories lost its hold, and finally was disestablished. In Massachusetts, Unitarianism among

²¹Albert Bushnell Hart, *National Ideals Historically Traced*, p. 199.

other factors weakened the grip of the Congregational Church upon politics. Actually the text of the First Amendment had provided a slogan, a free State and a free Church. One by one Protestant State Churches were disestablished; Virginia 1786; Vermont 1807; Connecticut 1818; New Hampshire 1819, Massachusetts 1833. In 1835, North Carolina dropped the name Protestant from the State Constitution. By 1845 a free Church was a reality. The exact extent of the Constitution of the United States in determining this condition cannot be precisely delineated, but these verses taken from the collection of State Constitutions printed by order of Congress in 1783 say much:

VERSES ON THE CONSTITUTION

[*Liberty Speaks*]

'Twas not from history nor from ancient lays,
Nor from the politics of modern days
That Constitutions were derived, they're mine
Framed to secure and to extend my reign:
To crush forever fierce oppression's might
And feeble injured innocence to right;
To raise poor industry where she lay,
Beneath some great or little tyrant's sway
And make her view with a triumphant smile,
The fruits (how fair the fight) of all her toil:
To do what legislation can to cure
The various ills that human hearts endure
Those to record who in the arts excel,
And e'en the weakest who endeavour well:
To cherish in religion, truth alone,
Yet leave the faith of citizens their own.

We recognize, of course, that it is God's will that the Catholic Church should have enjoyed an amazing growth since the signing of the Constitution. One hundred and fifty years ago there were perhaps thirty-five thousand Catholics living in small groups scattered over a vast territory and ministered to by some thirty heroic priests. Even after the Revolution they possessed almost no houses of worship, for during the later colonial period there were no Catholic churches in the colonies except in Pennsylvania—the only place where Mass was said publicly—and there the total of churches was two. No Bishop ruled over the faithful. This was

the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States when the Constitution was signed.

The contrast between the situation then and today, even allowing to the utmost for all the factors responsible for our growth, is nevertheless amazing, and we, therefore, must and do say that Catholics owe a debt to the Constitution and the government it brought into being. It is true that Catholics owe a debt; but it is likewise true that they have tried to discharge that debt. This debt has been discharged in a variety of ways, and we are all familiar with that story, for Catholics have given to America toilers for her farms, workers for her factories, statesmen for legislative halls, teachers for her schools and heroes on many a battlefield; besides that intangible but intensely real treasury of spiritual gifts which the members of Christ's mystical body can and must contribute to the society of which they are a part.

But there is a very specific contribution which the Catholic Church has made to America and it has to do with the Constitution itself. That Constitution under which we live not only in its basic principles but also even in its design is carved from the substance of Western civilization which was preserved and built up by the Church and which is the contribution of the Catholic Church to the United States and to the world.

GENERAL MEETING, DECEMBER 10, 1937

BY T. J. REARDON

AT THE fifty-third annual general meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held on the evening of December 10, 1937, at the Centre Club, New York, His Eminence Cardinal Hayes presided, and President Percy J. King, K.S.G., carried on the formal program of the evening, which evidently entertained and pleased a large audience.

Mr. King, in presenting a review of the literary activities of the Society during the past year, said :

"It has been a most fruitful year, not only in the increase in our membership but also in the output of our historical volumes, both in the Monograph Series and RECORDS AND STUDIES, our official publication. *The Quebec Act—A Primary Cause of the American Revolution* by the Rev. Charles H. Metzger, S.J., the seventeenth Monograph volume, has won a deserved place in the library of American Catholic history, with its revealing background of the religious influences that stirred the Colonies to war with England, leaving few names prominent in our early history without the tag of intolerance, at least in the pre-revolutionary period. It is a book to dip into when the roll is called and see them self-revealed in speech and pamphlet.

"And in Volume XXVII of RECORDS AND STUDIES there are Father Feeney's 'A Neglected Chapter of Catholic History; Our Poets'; 'The United States Catholic Press Exhibit at the Vatican,' by Charles H. Ridder, our treasurer; 'Brownson on Know Nothingism,' by the Rev. Joseph Frese, S.J.; Timothy J. Reardon's account of the General Meeting; the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons' article on the 'First American Editions of the Catholic Bible'; Sister Loyola's 'Bishop Fenwick and Anti-Catholicism in New England,' issued under the editorial supervision of our own Thomas F. Meehan. And only lately you have had placed in your hands Volume XXVIII of our RECORDS AND STUDIES, with its varied topics, 'American Prelates at the Vatican Council'; 'James Kerrigan' old-time New York merchant; 'Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the Revolutionary Period'; 'Catholic Action' and 'Catholic Weeklies,' by Mr. Meehan.

"Into this jubilatory note creeps the dissonance of death, for we have lost one of our board members, John W. Kehoe, long a friend of the Society, who died October 23, 1937. May he rest eternally in peace.

"They are celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jacques Marquette, the Jesuit missionary, both in France and in America, for he with Joliet in 1673 traversed the Mississippi as far as the junction of the Arkansas. La Salle completed the journey to the Gulf of Mexico in 1681 taking formal possession for the King of France of all the Mississippi Valley, under the name of Louisiana.

"They are also celebrating in Maryland and indeed throughout the United States the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of that great Catholic figure of the revolutionary period, who survived all his fellow signers of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was born in 1737 and died in 1832, being ninety-five years old.

"Some months ago the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Constitution of the United States was celebrated throughout the land by many gatherings and with deserved acclaim of that instrument of government, that guaranteed civil and religious liberties. Although but a simple act of justice, this declaration of the right to one's belief and opportunity to practice it, came as such a welcome relief from the intolerance that preceded it, that no one of our creed can read that document without grateful memories of the summer of 1787 and the delegates who drafted it."

Mr. King then presented as the speaker of the meeting the Rev. Dr. Philip J. Furlong, Dean and Professor of History at Cathedral College. His paper, "The Constitution and the Church" is printed elsewhere in this volume.

At the invitation of President King, Cardinal Hayes then addressed the gathering expressing his great pleasure at being accorded the privilege of attending the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, a privilege to which he looked forward each year.

"Every year," he said, "I come here to attest by my presence to the importance I attach to the Society. I am glad to see such a large meeting and to welcome the new members here tonight. I hope

that these new members will act as apostles to interest others in the work of the Society.

"I come here with a sense of real pleasure, and I leave with a feeling that I have had a profitable evening. Your president always tells us something worth while remembering, and I am always delighted with his interesting contribution to the meeting, showing that he and his associates are deeply interested in the purposes and works of the Society. You, Mr. President, gave us tonight an excellent summary of work during the past year, work that required diligence and zeal. I was delighted just the other day to receive from Mr. Meehan another evidence of the activity of the Society in the latest volume of the Society's RECORDS AND STUDIES.

"I was very much pleased to listen to Dr. Furlong. He has made a reputation for himself in his study of American history and I always take pleasure in reading what he writes on that subject. His books are of value to all Americans. I rejoice that we have here in New York a priest of his culture and knowledge, and I hope that he will continue his studies to prepare more of such papers as he has read here tonight. I thank you Dr. Furlong for the pleasure and profit you have given us.

"Americans of all creeds should thank God for the United States Constitution. Under its God-given principles of justice and liberty and toleration this country has the finest form of government in the world.

"How grateful to Almighty God we ought to be that we are living under such a form of government. Our beloved America, established as a land of freedom for the oppressed of the world, has afforded an opportunity to men to demonstrate to the world that a nation can exist in peace. No matter what land people may come from, if they possess decent ideals, a sense of justice and reverence for Almighty God, their race problems can here be settled by peaceful methods.

"As Catholics, we can help to perpetuate our government, to defend it against those who would seek to destroy it, by continuing to have a profound respect for those ruling over us and by demonstrating that loyalty to country which comes from God Himself.

"When we realize that the Constitution grew out of the Declara-

tion of Independence we should also thank God for the Declaration of Independence, the keynote of which is justice—a justice that respects the rights of God and those of men. If we will but demonstrate in our lives these principles of justice and reverence we will find that these troublous times will pass and we will have an even more glorious America, we will have justice, reverence for God and respect for our fellow men.

“The Church is the greatest advocate for peace in the entire world. If the nations had harkened to Pope Benedict in 1912 when he proposed his plan for peace there would have been no World War, but the world said that was the business of statesmen and politicians to set up points for peace discussion and not the business of the Church, and the consequence was that the civilized world was plunged into war.”

A CENTURY OF CATHOLICISM IN THE OREGON COUNTRY

BY THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, M.A.

THE Hudson's Bay Company's annual flotilla which left Lower Canada for the West in the spring of 1838 carried an unusual passenger in the person of the Abbé François Norbert Blanchet, recently appointed missionary to the Oregon country. At Red River the Abbé Blanchet was joined by the Abbé Modeste Demers. Together these two priests laid the foundations of the permanent Catholic ministry in the Pacific Northwest. This year, a century after this first transcontinental Catholic missionary journey, the Church in two countries pays tribute to the memory of these two apostles who erected the framework of organized Catholic life on both sides of the international boundary.

It is not the purpose of this paper to offer a detailed account of the development of Catholic life in the Oregon country.¹ Rather is it proposed to set forth the circumstances attending the inception of the enterprise, the migration of Catholics to the Western country, the journey of the two pioneer priests across the plains and mountains, and the religious and social *milieu* in which the early missionary foundations were made.²

¹The most satisfactory general account of the history of the Church in Oregon proper is that by Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon*, Portland, 1925, which is really a revision, brought down to 1925, of the same author's *The Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon*, Portland, 1911. In the preparation of these works Bishop O'Hara had access to the manuscript materials in the Portland Archdiocesan archives. The introductory chapters in both volumes treat of Catholic beginnings in Washington and British Columbia as well as in the present state of Oregon.

²The present study is based primarily on Archbishop Blanchet's *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, 1838-1878*, first published in the *Catholic Sentinel*, of Portland, from February to September, 1878, and subsequently issued in a limited edition. The *Sketches* were edited and republished, along with other primary materials for Oregon Catholic history, in Clarence H. Bagley's *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, 2 vols. Seattle, 1932. Bagley's edition has been used in the preparation of this article.

The writings of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J., abound in materials for the history of the Catholic missions of the Northwest and of the Rocky Mountain country; *Letters and Sketches: With a Narrative of a Year's Residence Among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1843. *Oregon Missions and Travels Over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845-46*, New

Catholic influences had been operative in the Oregon country before the arrival of the first missionaries. Catholic Indians from Lower Canada as well as French Canadians engaged in the fur trade undoubtedly brought the first tidings of the Faith to this locality. The bulk of the labor supply of the fur trade during the period of its greatest magnitude was recruited from among men of this nationality. Representatives of the same class were found in large numbers in the history-making expeditions of Lewis and Clark (1805), John Jacob Astor (1810), and of Captain Hunt (1811).

In Astor's expedition there were thirteen Canadians nearly all of whom were Catholics, and many of these pioneers afterwards settled in the Willamette (originally called *Wallamette*) valley where in 1838 still resided Michael La Fromboise, Stephen Lucier, Louis Labonté and Joseph Gervais.³

The Willamette Valley became the first center of Catholic life in this period of Oregon beginnings.

The immediate occasion of the inception of the missionary apostolate of Fathers Blanchet and Demers was the request of these Catholics living in the Willamette Valley for a priest to attend to their spiritual necessities. Bishop Provencher, Vicar Apostolic of the district of the Northwest, with residence at Red River, to whom they addressed their petition, was unable at the time to send them a priest, but he promised to do so at the earliest opportunity.⁴

The desire of the Oregon pioneers for a priest was made known to the Right Reverend Joseph Signay, Bishop of Quebec. The latter, under date of April 17, 1838, appointed the Abbé Blanchet, then *curé des Cèdres*, near Montreal, his Vicar General over the

York, 1847; and *Western Missions and Missionaries: a Series of Letters*, New York, 1863. The Chittenden and Richardson volumes, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J.*, 4 vols., New York, 1905, are rich in materials on the western missions, selected for the most part from the De Smet Collection in the Archives of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus (St. Louis University).

³Francis Norbert Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, 1838-1878*, in Clarence H. Bagley (ed.), *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, I, 10. Hereafter cited as "*Blanchet*".

⁴*Ibid.*, 18-19. The history of Catholic beginnings in the Canadian Middle and Far West is related by Adrian G. Morice, O.M.I., in his *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, 2 vols., Toronto, 1910, and in his more extensive work, in French, on the same subject (3 vols., Winnipeg, 1912). Father Morice also contributed "The Catholic Church West of the Great Lakes", to *Canada and Its Provinces*, vol. II, 115-196, Toronto, 1914.

territory "between the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Russian possessions on the north and the territory of the United States on the south."⁵ Bishop Provencher was to name a second missionary, the Abbé Modeste Demers, then at Red River.⁶

The "Instructions" issued by Bishop Signay under the same date to the two missionaries, set forth the procedure to be followed in inaugurating the mission :

You must consider as the first object of your Mission to withdraw from barbarity and the disorders which it produces, the Indians scattered in that country.

Your second object is, to tender your services to the wicked Christians who have adopted there the vices of the Indians, and live in licentiousness and the forgetfulness of their duties.

Persuaded that the preaching of the Gospel is the surest means of obtaining these happy results, you will lose no opportunity of inculcating its principles and maxims, either in your private conversations or public instructions.

In order to make yourselves sooner useful to the natives of the country where you are sent, you will apply yourselves, as soon as you arrive, to the study of the Indian languages, and will endeavor to reduce them to regular principles, so as to be able to publish a grammar after some years of residence there.

You will prepare for baptism, with all possible expedition, the infidel women who live in concubinage with Christians, in order to substitute lawful marriages for these irregular unions.

You will take a particular care of the Christian education of children, establishing for that purpose, schools and catechism classes in all the villages which you will have occasion to visit.

In all the places remarkable either for their position or the passage of the voyagers, or the gathering of Indians, you will plant crosses, so as to take possession of these various places in the name of the Catholic religion. . . .⁷

At this point it might be well to look briefly into the story of the lives and works of these pioneer priests up to the time they were assigned to the Oregon missions.

François Norbert Blanchet was born near Saint Pierre, Riviere du Sud, Quebec, on September 3, 1795. His elementary education was obtained in the parish school of St. Pierre, from which he

⁵Blanchet, 21-22; O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon*, 19.

⁶Blanchet, 21.

⁷*Ibid.*, 21-22.

passed in 1810 to the preparatory seminary at Quebec. In 1816 he entered the major seminary in the same city, and after pursuing his course with distinction was ordained to the priesthood on July 19, 1819.

For about a year after his ordination Father Blanchet was attached to the Cathedral of Quebec. In 1820 he was assigned to labor among the French-speaking Acadians and the Micmac Indians living in New Brunswick. The seven years spent by him in New Brunswick served as his apprenticeship for the Oregon missions. In addition to the Acadians and Indians he also had the care of the Irish immigrants who were beginning to settle in some numbers in New Brunswick. The better to assist them he learned English. The very physical nature of the country was not altogether unlike that in which he was later to labor on the Pacific Coast. Vast in extent and but sparsely provided with roads, he was obliged to resort to canoes, pirogues, horseback, snow shoes and dog sleds, depending upon the season, in order to reach his parishioners. In 1827 Father Blanchet was transferred to the parish of St. Joseph de Soulanges, or *des Cedres*, not far from Montreal. Here he remained until his appointment to Oregon.⁸

Modeste Demers, born at St. Nicolas, Lévis, Quebec, October 11, 1809, had been a priest for little more than a year when he set out for Red River, where he arrived in 1837. An alumnus, like Blanchet, of the Seminary of Quebec, his first assignment as a priest had been to Trois-Pistoles. He had none of Blanchet's background of missionary training in the wilderness.⁹

It is interesting for us, removed a century from the time when these events were taking place, to reflect on the response of the Hudson's Bay Company to the request of Bishop Provencher that the two missionaries be given passage in the canoes of the Company, at that time the only feasible way to make the overland journey to

⁸Perhaps the best account of the life of Father Blanchet prior to his appointment to the Oregon country, is that of C. Seghers, *Life and Labors of F. N. Blanchet* (1883). Brief sketches will be found in F. X. Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States*, 15-16, Milwaukee, 1898; Richard H. Clarke, *The Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 438 sq., New York, 1888; the *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 352-354; and in Blanchet's *Sketches*, etc., 147-148.

⁹A succinct account of Father Demers early life is contained in Blanchet's *Sketches*, etc., 149.

Oregon. The London officials of the Company objected to the Bishop's proposal of establishing a mission in the Willamette Valley on the grounds that the sovereignty of the locality had not been definitely determined between the United States and Great Britain. With this opinion Bishop Provencher concurred, and the passage for the two missionaries was granted by the Company. Writing from London, February 17, 1838, Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Interior, addressed the Bishop of Quebec :

My Lord: I yesterday had the honor of receiving a letter from the bishop of Juliopolis, [J. N. Provencher, Titular Bishop of Juliopolis] dated Red River, October 13th, 1837, wherein I am requested to communicate with your Lordship, on the subject of sending two priests to the Columbia river for the purpose of establishing a Catholic Mission in that part of the country.

When the bishop first mentioned this subject, his view was to form the Mission on the banks of the Willamette, a river falling into the Columbia from the south. To the establishing of a Mission there, the Governor and Committee in London, and the Council in Hudson's Bay, had a decided objection, as the sovereignty of that country is still undecided; but I, last summer, intimated to the bishop that if he would establish the Mission on the banks of the Cowlitz river, or on the Cowlitz Portage, falling into the Columbia from the northward, and give his assurance that the missionaries would not locate themselves on the south side of the Columbia river, but would form their establishment where the Co.'s representatives might point out as the most eligible situation on the north side, I should recommend the Governor and Committee to afford a passage to the priests, and such faculties towards the successful accomplishment of the object in view as would not involve any great inconvenience or expense to the Co.'s service.

By the letter received yesterday, already alluded to, the bishop enters fully into my views, and expresses his willingness to fall in with my suggestions. That letter I have laid before the Governor and Committee, and am now instructed to intimate to your Lordship that if the priests will be ready at Lachine to embark for the interior about the 25th of April, a passage will be afforded them, and on arrival at Fort Vancouver measures will be taken by the Co.'s representative there to facilitate the establishing of the Mission, and the carrying into effect the objects thereof generally.¹⁰

¹⁰Blanchet, 20-21.

Archbishop Blanchet, in his *Historical Sketches*, gives a detailed account of the overland journey of the missionaries to Oregon. We may here insert the summary of the itinerary with which he prefaces his account:

Accompanied by chief trader Hargrave, Vicar General F. N. Blanchet embarked in one of the light bark canoes carrying the express of the Hudson Bay Company, leaving Montreal on Thursday, May 3rd, 1838, reaching Fort Vancouver on the 24th of the following November. The journey from Lachine to Red River (2,100 miles) was made in canoes, with occasional portages, in thirty-three days. The journey from Red River to the Rocky Mountains (2,025 miles) occupied eighty-four days, including detentions. The river route was made in eleven light barges and the land trip—occupying five days—was made on horseback. Horses were also used in making the tedious trip across the Rocky Mountains, from Jasper's House to Boat Encampment or Big Bend on the Columbia river. This trip occupied nine days, a band of seventy-two horses being provided for the use of the company. It took six days to make the ascent on the Eastern slope, and three days to descend to the plains on the Pacific side, but the missionaries were well repaid for the toils they underwent in the grandeur of the scenery that surrounded them at every step. The remainder of the journey, from Big Bend to Fort Vancouver (about 1,200 miles) was made in light boats down the Columbia river.¹¹

The Fathers did not wait until their arrival at the site of their projected missionary establishment before beginning their ministry. On June 6 Father Blanchet arrived at St. Boniface, where he met Bishop Provencher and the companion of his Oregon apostolate, Father Demers. Five weeks were spent in visiting all the missions of the Red River. On July 10 the missionaries resumed their journey, "after having sang a high Mass in honor of St. Ann to ask from God the benediction on their journey; for we had to penetrate into a country never yet visited by a Catholic priest."¹²

Seven days' journey from St. Boniface brought them to Norway House, where they remained eight days, "saying holy Mass, distributing catechisms, baptizing children and some adults, instructing and exhorting the whites and Indians at the Fort."¹³ After further

¹¹*Ibid.*, 23; ¹²*Ibid.*, 30; ¹³*Ibid.*, 31.

intermediate stops, Fort Edmunton was reached, where Mass was said, Vespers celebrated, and two sermons preached. "On the 10th [September], before leaving, we blessed and planted a cross. This we did all along the road, wherever we had said Mass, either near the forts, or on the shore, or in the interior along the road".¹⁴

On September 28 the party obtained its first glimpse of the Rocky Mountains:

On the 2nd of October, we had come as far as Jasper's House, 4 leagues inside the Rocky Mountains, and were then 92 leagues from Fort Assiniboine. There were there 35 baptisms, far the greater part of children of halfbreeds, or free people, living in the woods as Indians and hunting the beaver. Holy Mass was celebrated on the opposite side of the river, far away from the noise of Jaspers.¹⁵

Travel at this point was exceedingly difficult and slow. But the summit of the Rockies was almost attained:

On the 10th [October], being at 1½ leagues from the top of the Rocky Mountains, at 3 o'clock in the morning, I celebrated under a tent the august sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb in thanksgiving for all the benefits the Lord had bestowed upon us, and to consecrate by the sacrifice of the Cross, these sublime mountains, to the glory of their Creator, the all-powerful God, of whom they sing the praise and power.¹⁶

Pushing on by way of Fort Colville, Fort Okanagan, and Fort Walla Walla, the missionaries reached Fort Vancouver, the chief post of the Hudson's Bay Company, on Saturday, November 24, 1838. The reception of the missionaries at the Fort is described by Father Blanchet:

When the flotilla appeared in sight, as it made its way down the Columbia, all was excitement at the fort. . . . All the populace rushed to the river bank in order to feast their eyes on the first Catholic missionaries whose presence they had long expected. Prominent among the assembly stood James Douglas, who was acting Chief Factor and Governor of the establishment of the Hudson Bay Co. west of the Rocky Mountains, in the absence of Dr. John McLoughlin, who was then absent on a visit to Canada and England. He was the first to welcome the missionaries to the scene of their future labors. Conducting them to the fort, where the flag was flying in

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 32; ¹⁵*Ibid.*, 32; ¹⁶*Ibid.*, 35; ¹⁷*Ibid.*, 43; ¹⁸*Ibid.*, 53.

honor of their arrival, the Governor ushered them in apartments prepared for them, appointing a servant to wait on them, and in every way manifested his hospitality and his delight at their arrival.¹⁷

The following day, Sunday, November 25, 1838, the first Mass ever said in lower Oregon was offered up in the school house of the Fort.¹⁸

Fathers Blanchet and Demers were confronted at the beginning of their apostolate by a missionary field of vast and difficult territorial extent, and one beset by problems of a spiritual and moral nature sufficient to tax the zeal of the hardiest and most courageous natures.

Their mission extended from California (42nd parallel) to the Northern glacial sea, between the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains. The Indian tribes were numerous, scattered all over the country, speaking a multitude of diverse and difficult tongues, and addicted to polygamy and all the vices of paganism. The servants of the H. B. Co. in active service in its 28 forts for the fur trade, were in great majority Catholics; so also were the four families settled in Cowlitz, and the 26 established in the Willamette valley, with their wives and children. Many of the servants and settlers had forgotten their prayers and the religious principles they had received in their youth. The women they had taken for their wives were pagans, or baptized without sufficient knowledge. Their children were raised in ignorance. One may well imagine that in many places disorders, rudeness of morals and indecency of practices, answered to that state of ignorance.¹⁹

The missionaries had, moreover, to labor to protect the Catholics of the Oregon country from the active and aggressive propaganda being carried on by the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries and, for a time at least, by the chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver.

Intensive missionary work was inaugurated at Vancouver, where from November 24, 1838 to April 15, 1839, a mission was conducted for the Catholics. Father Demers had quickly learned the Chinook jargon, and gave special attention to the Indians, while Father Blanchet took principal charge of the ministry to the whites.²⁰

On December 12, 1838, Father Blanchet set out by canoe for the

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 53-54; ²⁰*Ibid.*, 55; ²¹*Ibid.*, 61-62.

Cowlitz settlement, where, according to the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, the permanent mission was to be established. Arriving there on Sunday, the 16th, he said Mass in the house of a Canadian settler, instructed the Catholics, and selected the site and made preparations for the construction of the mission buildings.²¹

The settlers in the Willamette Valley were the next to be visited. It was this group of French Canadians, former members of the Hunt and Astor expeditions, as well as retired employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, that had originally petitioned Bishop Provencher for a priest. As early as 1836, when they felt that there was a possibility that a priest would be sent to them, they had built a log church, seventy by thirty feet, the first Catholic church built in Oregon. Father Blanchet reached the settlement near the present town of St. Paul, on Saturday, January 5. On the following day, the feast of the Epiphany, he blessed the little church, under the patronage of St. Paul, and celebrated the first Mass ever said in the Willamette Valley. For a month the missionary remained at this settlement, instructing and administering the Sacraments.²²

The spring and summer of 1839 witnessed an expansion of the field of the missionaries' labors. Fort Nesqually, Fort Colville, Okanogan, and Walla Walla were visited, and in each place a beginning was made in the organization of genuine Catholic life.²³

It was during the mission conducted at Cowlitz during the early months of this same year that the interesting pedagogical device known as the "Catholic Ladder" was first employed by Father Blanchet in teaching the truths of faith. The circumstances leading to its invention are described by Father Blanchet.

The news of the arrival of the missionary at Cowlitz caused numerous delegations of Indians to come from remote distances in order to hear and see the *black-gown*. Among these delegations was one led by chief *Tsla-lakum*, whose tribe inhabited Whidby Island, Puget Sound, 150 miles from the Cowlitz mission. After a journey of two days in canoes to Fort Nisqually, and an arduous march of three days on foot, across streams and rivers, and by an exceedingly rough trail, they reached Cowlitz with bleeding feet, famished and broken down. Their object was to see the *black-gown* and hear him speak of

²²*Ibid.*, 64-67; ²³*Ibid.* 73 sq.

the Great Spirit. As soon as they were refreshed the missionary began to speak to them of God, of the Incarnation and Redemption. But the great difficulty was to give them an idea of religion so plain and simple as to command their attention, and which they could retain in their minds and carry back with them to their tribes. In looking for a plan the vicar general Father Blanchet imagined that by representing on a square stick, the forty centuries before Christ by 40 marks; the thirty-three years of our Lord by 33 points, followed by a cross; and the eighteen centuries and thirty-nine years since, by 18 marks and 39 points, would pretty well answer his purpose, in giving him a chance to show the beginning of the world, the creation, the fall of the angels, of Adam; the promise of a Savior, the time of His birth, and His death upon the cross, as well as the mission of the apostles. The plan was a great success. After eight days' explanation, the chief and his companions became masters of the subject; and, having learned to make the sign of the cross and to sing one or two hymns in the Chinook jargon, they started for home well satisfied, with a square rule thus marked, which they called *Sahale stick* (Stick from above). That plan was afterwards changed from a rule to a large chart containing the great epochs of the world, such as the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the ten commandments of God, the twelve apostles, the seven sacraments and precepts of The Church; thus being useful to enable the missionary to teach the Indians and whites. It was called "The Catholic Ladder."²⁴

The first year of Catholic missionary work in Oregon was hardly completed when the objections originally raised by the Hudson's Bay Company to the establishment of a mission south of the Columbia River were withdrawn. Father Blanchet ascribed this change of attitude on the part of the Company to the representations of Dr. John McLoughlin who was in England at the time.²⁵ During the year that had elapsed since his arrival in the Oregon country Father Blanchet had become convinced that the logical and most promising place for the central establishment was in the Willamette Valley. Soon after the desired permission had been obtained Father Blanchet set out to take up winter quarters on the Willamette, while Father Demers repaired to Cowlitz.²⁶

The second year of the Canadian missionaries' residence in the Oregon country was a period of further expansion of their field of

²⁴*Ibid.*, 69-70; ²⁵*Ibid.*, 81; ²⁶*Ibid.*, 81.

labor. On May 21, 1840, Father Demers arrived at Astoria, the famous trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. At about the same time Father Blanchet went to Whidbey Island, on Puget Sound, and commenced the instruction of the neighboring Indians.²⁷

While Fathers Blanchet and Demers were establishing their missions of the Oregon country the ecclesiastical authorities in the United States were not indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the Northwest.

As early as 1831 the western Indians had sent a delegation to St. Louis. An account of this visit, written by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, appeared in the *Annales de L'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* for 1832. Under date of December 31, 1831, Bishop Rosati wrote in part:

Some three months ago, four Indians, who live at the other side of the Rocky Mountains, near the Columbia river, arrived in St. Louis. After visiting General Clarke, who, in his celebrated travels, had seen the nation to which they belong and had been well received by them, they came to see our church, and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately there was no one who understood their language. Some time afterward two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis. Two of our priests visited them, and the poor Indians seemed delighted with their visit. They made signs of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. This sacrament was administered to them; they gave expression of their satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them; they took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly, and it could be taken from them only after their death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church for the funeral, which was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted with great propriety. They have returned to their country.²⁸

²⁷O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon*, 29-30.

²⁸Damian Cummins, *Rebirth of a Dual Legend*, pamphlet 2, (Conception, Missouri, 1935), from *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, II, 188. It is not our purpose here to discuss the merits of the controversy subsequently aroused by the claim advanced by certain parties that these Indians had come to St. Louis seeking the "Book of Heaven", or the Bible, and, by implication, Protestant, rather than Catholic, missionaries. While there is no documentary evidence to show that this delegation actually requested missionaries of any kind, yet the circumstances connected with the death of two of them, as related by Bishop Rosati, leaves no room for doubt that they were acquainted with and well disposed towards Catholicism. The

This was the first of three Indian delegations to come from the Western country to St. Louis on a religious mission, the two subsequent delegations reaching the latter place in 1835 and 1839. Anxious as Bishop Rosati was to meet the wishes of the Indians he was unable, before 1840, to do so because of the scarcity of priests at his disposal. In 1833 the Fathers of the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore petitioned the Holy See to have the care of the Indian missions of the United States entrusted to the Society of Jesus, and Rome approved of the plan. But it was a number of years before the Jesuits could undertake the work. Only in 1840 were they able to make a beginning of this work. In that year Father Pierre Jean de Smet set out on his first journey to the Northwest, and laid the foundations of the Jesuit Indian missions in the far West.²⁹

The Indians of the Far West were not entirely unknown to Father De Smet. The delegation of 1839, headed by the Iroquois known as Young Ignace, had tarried for a few days at Council Bluffs where De Smet was stationed at the time and had there met the future organizer of the Rocky Mountain missions.

Towards the close of March 1840, Father De Smet set out for the Rocky Mountain country. This journey of 1840 was really one of reconnaissance, undertaken for the purpose of surveying the prospects for establishing a mission among the tribes of the locality. This object accomplished, he returned to St. Louis. In the following spring, 1841, accompanied by two priests and three brothers, he went west over the Oregon Trail, and established St. Mary's Mission for the Flatheads of the Bitter Root Valley in what is now northwestern Montana.

Writing to Father Blanchet from the "Fork of Jefferson River," August 10, 1840, Father De Smet gives an account of his journey throughout the Indian country and announces his plans for the inauguration of permanent missions in the Rocky Mountain country.

attitude of the subsequent delegations that visited St. Louis substantiates this view.

²⁹The best general biography of Father De Smet is that by E. Laveille, *Le P. De Smet*; English translation by Marian Lindsay, New York, 1915. The Chittenden and Richardson volumes, mentioned above, are indispensable for a study of De Smet's life and labors. The periodical literature concerning him is extensive.

Very Rev. Sir:—The present which I have the honor to write will surprise your Reverence, as coming from one unknown, but in quality of a co-operator in the Vineyard of the Lord, and in a so far remote country, it cannot be disagreeable to you. I wish I could have leisure to give Your Reverence some details of my mission to the Rocky Mountains, but Mr. Bruette who is so kind as to carry my letter to Fort Colville, just ready to start, gives me but a few minutes to write. Your Reverence will then learn that Mgr. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, in concert with my provincial, superior of the company in Missouri, and in compliance with the desires often manifested by the *Tetes Plates* and *Pend d'Oreilles*, and a great number of *Nez Perces*, has sent me to the Rocky Mountains, to visit these nations. I have found the two first in the best desirable dispositions, well resolved to stand by the true children of Jesus Christ. The few weeks I had the happiness to pass among them, have been the happiest of my life, and give me the firm hope, with the grace of God, to see soon renewed in these countries, so long forsaken, the fervor of the first Christians. Since I am among them, I gave three, four or five instructions a day; they cannot be tired; all come to my lodge at the first ringing of the bell; they are anxious to lose none of my words relating to these instructions on heavenly subjects; and, had I the strength to speak to them, they would willingly listen to me whole days and nights. I baptized about 200 of their little children, and expect to baptize, in a short time, 150 adults.

The object of my mission was to visit a great part of the Territory of Oregon, and make reports to my Bishop and Superior, on the favorable places to open missions. But I have found so many good dispositions among the Indians of the plains, that I have changed the plan of my journey. I will return to St. Louis before the winter, and will be back next spring with a caravan of missionaries, who are already preparing themselves. The *Shoshones* and *Serpents* (Snakes) desire to have an establishment; the *Tetes Plates* and *Pend d'Oreilles* have nothing more at heart. The *Nez Perces* seemed to be tired with these self-dubbed ministers *a femmes*, and show a very great predelection for Catholic priests. We will therefore have enough to occupy ourselves in these mountains without extending any further into the land. I hope, nevertheless, that before the winter of 1841, I will have the honor to pay a visit to your Reverence, in order to have the aid of your counsels, and work in concert to gain these poor nations to Jesus Christ. Please present my respects to Rev. M. Demers.³⁰

³⁰Blanchet, 97-98.

The two priests brought to the Rocky Mountain country in 1841 by Father De Smet were Fathers Gregory Mengarini and Nicholas Point, both of whom subsequently became well known in the ecclesiastical history of the West.³¹ Towards the close of 1841 De Smet set out from St. Mary's Mission for Fort Colville on the Columbia. On the way he passed through the country of the Kalispels, who had already learned something of the Faith from the Flatheads. At Fort Colville he secured the supplies necessary for the mission in the Bitter Root Valley, where he spent the winter of 1841-1842 among the Flatheads.

In April, 1842, he began his thousand mile journey to Vancouver, pausing along the way to instruct the various Indian peoples whom he encountered. His arrival at Vancouver is noted by Blanchet :

Rev. M. Demers returned to Vancouver in the middle of May [1842], to attend to the wants of the mission and those of the Brigades of the North and South. He had been there but a few weeks, when Father De Smet arrived at Vancouver from Colville, which he reached in the early Spring. In crossing a rapid below Colville his boat was capsized, but he reached the shore in safety, suffering only from the loss of his baggage. Rev. M. Demers brought him to St. Paul; he spent 8 days with the vicar general, sung high Mass on Sunday, addressed words of exhortation to the congregation, and expressed himself much pleased with the solemnity of the Mass and vespers services, specially with the singing. Of the Catholic Ladder he said: "That plan will be adopted by the missions of the whole world." Here he returned to Vancouver with Father Demers; the vicar general soon rejoined them to deliberate on the interests of the great mission of the Pacific Coast.³²

As a result of this conference it was decided that Father De Smet should set out for St. Louis and thence to Belgium to seek assistance for the western missions.³³

The return of Father De Smet to Oregon is also related by Father Blanchet :

The long expected return of Rev. Father De Smet came at last. Leaving Antwerp, Belgium, on January 9th, 1844, in

³¹For an account of Father Point see "Nicholas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties", by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., in his *Chapters in Frontier History*, 136-157, Milwaukee, 1934.

³²Blanchet, 106-107; ³³*Ibid.*, 107.

a sailing vessel called L'Infatigable, he met with great dangers at Cape Horn, touched at Valparaiso and Callao, spent four days outside the Columbia bar waiting for a pilot, passed the bar on July 1st, running straight east through the south channel, something never attempted before, came to a pass of 2½ fathoms of water, and arrived at Astoria in the evening. All who saw the course of the ship thought that she would be wrecked, the captain and passengers fearing the same. Father De Smet arrived at Vancouver in a canoe on Sunday, the 4th, at 6 a.m., the ship arrived at 6. Father De Smet was accompanied by four new Fathers: Rev. Fathers Ravalli, Accolti, Nobili and Vercruisse; some lay brothers and six Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur.

The news of his arrival reaching the vicar general at St. Paul on the 10th, he was at Vancouver the next day, and the religious caravan reached St. Paul on the 17th, and took up their quarters in the college. On Sunday, the 18th, the vicar general sang high Mass before an affluence of people anxious to see the Sisters and the new Fathers. On the following Thursday was sung a Mass of thanksgiving. Father De Smet took a land claim on Lake Ignatius, and had in a few months a house built on the high land near the lake, for the residence of his Fathers. Father De Smet started on Oct. 6th for the Rocky Mountains; from whence Father De Vos arrived at St. Paul on the 13th, on horseback, bringing with him two lay brothers. The Sisters entered into their convent on Oct. 19th, and had a Mass celebrated in the interior chapel the next day; Fathers De Vos and Accolti entered their new house called St. Ignatius.³⁴

The expansion of missionary work in the Oregon country, as well as its great distance from either the American or Canadian Sees, led the Archbishops of Quebec and Baltimore to request the Holy See to erect the Oregon missions into a Vicariate Apostolic. This was granted by apostolic brief of December 1, 1843, and Father Blanchet was named Vicar Apostolic.³⁵ The notice of his appointment, however, did not reach Oregon until November, 1844. Father Blanchet then set out for Lower Canada to receive episcopal consecration, and on July 25 of the next year, 1845, was consecrated Titular Bishop of Drasa, at Montreal.³⁶

Soon after his consecration Bishop Blanchet set out for Europe. The purpose of this visit was to obtain additional missionary

³⁴*Ibid.*, 116; ³⁵*Ibid.*, 116; ³⁶*Ibid.*, 125.

workers and material means for the extension and support of his missions. Through Italy, France, Belgium, Austria and the Germanies he journeyed in pursuance of these objectives. Generous souls offered themselves for the Oregon missions and public and private charities came to the assistance of the Bishop. When Bishop Blanchet arrived back in Oregon, in August, 1847, after an absence of over two and a half years, he brought with him a company of twenty-two persons, including Jesuits, secular priests, seminarians, and seven additional Sisters of Notre Dame.³⁷

By Brief of July 24, 1846, Bishop Blanchet's Vicariate was raised to the rank of an ecclesiastical province. Oregon City was designated as the Metropolitan See, with suffragan Sees at Vancouver Island and Walla Walla. Bishop Blanchet was named Archbishop of Oregon City, Father Demers, Bishop of Vancouver Island, and a brother of the Archbishop, Father A. M. A. Blanchet, Canon of the Montreal Cathedral, Bishop of Walla Walla.³⁸

Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet was consecrated in Montreal on September 27, 1846, and arrived at Walla Walla in September of the following year. Bishop Demers was consecrated in the church at St. Paul on November 30, 1847.³⁹

Summarizing the ecclesiastical organization of the Oregon country at this time, Archbishop Blanchet writes:

The whole mission of Oregon, comprising three sees, was divided in 8 districts. To the see of Vancouver Island was attached the districts of New Caledonia and Prince Charlotte Island; to the see of Oregon City was attached the district of Nisqually; to the see of Walla Walla were attached the districts of Colville and Fort Hall. On a later occasion, June 29th, 1853, at the recommendation of the I. Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in 1852, the Columbia river and parallel 46 became the line of division between the dioceses of Oregon City and Nisqually, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains.

The three sees and the districts attached to them contained numerous tribes of Indians, who had been visited several times by the Catholic missionaries and converted, in great part, to the Catholic faith; they were calling for priests since 1838. The time had arrived to see their earnest desires accomplished.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 128; ³⁸*Ibid.*, 127.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 130-131. For a biographical account of Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet, see *Ibid.*, 148-149.

This was to be the case with the Cayuses living on the Umatilla, their camp being 30 miles from another Cayuse camp situated on the Walla Walla, a few miles from the fort. The first camp was Catholic at heart, and their chief, *Tamatowe*, offered a home to the bishop.⁴⁰

The future that seemed to be dawning so brightly for the Catholic missions of the Oregon country at this time was soon threatened by a series of unfortunate occurrences which came dangerously near to upsetting the whole fabric of civilization in that region.

The proximate occasion of the trouble was the murder of Dr. Marcus Whitman, his wife and a number of others at the Wailatpu Mission. It will be recalled that Dr. Whitman began missionary work among the Oregon Indians in 1836 under the auspices of the American Board. Troubles and suspicions which had been growing for some time came to a head with the outbreak of an epidemic of measles among the Indians. Whitman labored hard to effect the cure of those stricken, but when large numbers of them died despite his efforts, the suspicions of the Indians burst into a fury of murder and destruction.

On Tuesday, November 30, 1847, the day following the murder of Whitman, Father J. B. A. Brouillet, Vicar General of the new Diocese of Walla Walla, arrived at the camp of the Cayuse with the intention of baptizing some sick children. There he learned for the first time of the horrible deed. After washing and burying the bodies himself, Father Brouillet hastened away to meet and warn the Rev. H. H. Spalding, who was on his way to Whitman's mission. Chief Factor Ogden hurried from Vancouver as soon as he heard of the outrage, and succeeded in persuading the Indians to hand over the prisoners whom they were holding.⁴²

But at this stage a strange and most unlooked for occurrence took place. Once safely out of reach of the Indians, Mr. Spalding began a campaign of defamation against the Catholic clergy, and accused them of inciting the massacre. Such preposterous accusations

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 131-132.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 132 sq. Father Brouillet's account of the murder of Whitman and associates is reprinted in Bagley's *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, I, 151 sq.

⁴²Blanchet, 135; ⁴³*Ibid.*, 58.

would have passed in normal times as the products at best of a disordered intellect. But coming as they did close upon a period of anti-Catholic animosity throughout the nation, they served to fan still more the fire of hate and fanaticism. The first response of the American inhabitants of the locality threatened to result in the destruction of all Catholic activity in the Oregon country. Calmer judgment eventually prevailed, but the vicious calumny long continued to darken the pages of the history of the American Northwest, and even at the present time, after the lapse of almost a century, its echoes are still heard.

Among the pleasanter incidents of these years of pioneer Catholic endeavor in the Northwest, must be mentioned the cordial relations and cooperation of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in particular of the Company's governor in those parts, Dr. John McLoughlin.

To that excellent man was our holy religion indebted for whatever morality the missionaries found at Vancouver as well as for the welfare and temporal advantages the settlers of the Cowlitz and Willamette Valleys enjoyed at that time.⁴³

Father Blanchet and Dr. McLoughlin became fast friends soon after the inception of Catholic missionary work in the Northwest, and their friendship remained unbroken until McLoughlin's death in 1857. Dr. McLoughlin's great assistance to the successive bands of homeseekers in the Oregon country is well-known and calls for no further amplification in this paper.

In 1842 Dr. McLoughlin became a Catholic. His conversion and subsequent Catholic life is related in some detail by Blanchet.

It is but just to make special mention of the important services which Dr. McLoughlin, though not a Catholic, has rendered to the French Canadians and their families, during the fourteen years he was governor of Fort Vancouver. He it was who read to them the prayers on Sundays. Besides the English school kept for the children of the bourgeois, he had a separate one maintained at his own expense, in which prayers and the catechism were taught in French to the Catholic women and children on Sundays and week days, by his orders. He also encouraged the chant of the hymns in which he was assisted by his wife and daughter, who took much pleasure in this exercise. He visited and examined the school once a week,

which already numbered several good scholars, who soon learned to read French and became a great help to the priests. He it was who saved the Catholics of the fort from the dangers of perversion, and who, finding the log church the Canadians had built, a few miles below Fairfield in 1836, not properly located, ordered it to be removed, and rebuilt on a large prairie, its present beautiful site. . . .

The good work of that upright man deserved a reward; he received it by being brought to the true Church in the following manner:

When he was once on a visit to Fort Nisqually, a book entitled "The End of Controversy", written by Dr. Milner, fell into his hands. He read it with avidity, and was overcome and converted at once. On his return to Fort Vancouver, he made his abjuration and profession of faith at the hands of the vicar general on Nov. 18th, 1842. He made his confession and had his marriage blessed on the same day, and prepared himself for his first communion by fasting during the four weeks of Advent, which he passed on his claim at the "Willamette Falls," now called Oregon City, in having the place surveyed into blocks and lots. Being thus prepared, he made his first communion at Fort Vancouver, at midnight Mass on Christmas, with a large number of the faithful women and servants of the Hudson Bay Co. The little chapel was then full of white people and Indians; it was beautifully decorated and brilliantly illuminated; the *plain chant* was grave, the Christmas hymns, in French and Chinook jargon, alternately by the two choirs of men and women, was impressive; as well as the holy functions around the altar; in a word, it was captivating and elevating to the minds of the faithful, commemorating the great day of the birth of our Savior. It was on such an occasion that Hon. Peter H. Burnett,⁴⁴ being at Vancouver in 1843, and attending high Mass as a mere spectator, at midnight on Christmas, received the first impressions leading to his conversion, as mentioned in the preface of his book entitled "The Path which led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church".

From the time of his conversion Dr. John McLoughlin showed himself a true, practical Christian, and a worthy member of the Church, never missing Mass nor vespers on Sundays or holy days, going to communion nearly every month, and preaching by word and example. On going to church each

⁴⁴First Chief Justice of Oregon and later first Governor of California. A convert to the Catholic Church in June, 1846. Author of *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*, New York, 1860, and *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, New York, 1860.

Sunday he was often accompanied by some Protestant friends. . . . He was kind to his children and grand-children; his son-in-law following his example.

Dr. McLoughlin was born in the district of Quebec, Can., and died at his residence in Oregon City on Sept. 3rd, 1857, aged 73 years; fortified with all the consolations of the Church, after a lingering illness of two years, which he bore with Christian patience and resignation, about three months before the return of Archbishop Blanchet from South America in 1857.

Dr. McLoughlin was the father of the orphans and servants of the H. B. Co.; the father of the French-Canadian colonies of Cowlitz and the Willamette valley; of all the American immigrants, and a great benefactor of the Catholic Church. On hearing of this great man, our holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI, sent him the insignia of the knights of the distinguished order of St. Gregory the great, which archbishop Blanchet delivered to him on his return from Europe in August, 1847.⁴⁵

Archbishop Blanchet labored for forty-five years on the Pacific Coast and Bishop Demers for thirty-three years before death called them to rest, the former on June 18, 1883, and the latter on July 27, 1871. The spiritual wilderness to which both came in 1838, had become an ecclesiastical province, with its suffragan sees established in what are now Washington and British Columbia. Institutions of religion, education, and charity had been multiplied manifold. The Indians, who constituted the bulk of the population in the nascent days of the Pacific Coast ministry, had given place in numbers before the persistent immigration of white settlers. The dual occupation of the Oregon country had long since ceased, and François Norbert Blanchet, who had crossed the continent in 1838 as Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec, had become the first Archbishop of the second ecclesiastical province established within the territory of the United States.

⁴⁵Blanchet, 58-59.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND NUNS

BY GERTRUDE M. LARKIN

ONE of the oldest institutions for the education of women, in North America, is the Ursuline Convent of Quebec. The Ursuline Order, as founded by Saint Angela de Merici, was for the special purpose of teaching young girls and down through the ages that has been its mission. It was the first teaching Order of women established in the Church. It is interesting to note that the University of Sorbonne, in the thirteenth century, was placed under the patronage of Saint Ursula.

Eighty-six years before the Pilgrims reached Plymouth Rock, the Franciscan Bishop Juan Zunárraga opened a school in Mexico City for Indian girls, in October 1534.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, Canada needed women to teach the Indian girls. That call was answered by Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation, Madame de la Peltrie, and Marie de Bernard of the noble line of Savonnières. On August 1, 1639, four years after the death of Champlain, who founded Canada in 1608, these tenderly nurtured, cultured and brave women arrived, and, on touching Canadian soil, their first act was to fall upon their knees, kiss the ground, and accept then and there all the difficulties and hardships ahead of them. The boys already had a school, founded by the Jesuits. The Ursuline Convent established in that land within the shadow of the Laurentian Shield has flourished ever since and, in perspective, its contribution to the making of the North American Continent is of immeasurable importance.

Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie were widows, the latter possessing enough money for such an undertaking. They both understood household management and that experience proved helpful, for they had to feed and clothe the Indians, as well as to try to civilize them. Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation and Marie de Bernard were Ursuline nuns. Those early beginnings were accompanied by hardships, financial worries, illnesses, and fire fatalities, in a climate full of sharp contrasts. The annals of the Order, *Glimpses of the Monastery*, written by members of their Community will repay perusal. It is a cloistered Order.

Among their early pupils were three little New England girls, and our very first native nun was Mary Ann Davis, later known in religion as Mother Mary Benedict, born 1680, in Salem, Massachusetts. She was only six years old when she saw her parents massacred, her home in flames, and she herself taken captive by the Indians. For many years she was to know no home but the woodlands. Father Sebastian Rale, the saintly Jesuit, killed August 28, 1724 by the English and Mohawks, at Norridgewock, Maine, rescued and found a haven for her, through the kindness of French people, but not without much difficulty and many delays. She passed through the various classes under the Ursuline nuns, and, in 1698, became a novice, was professed two years later, and thus became our first New England nun. For fifty years as an Ursuline she served her Creator about Whom she had first heard in the depths of the forest, ever grateful for her happy, peaceful home in the monastery. She died in 1749.

The second nun of New England birth, Mother Esther Wheelwright of the Infant Jesus, became Superior of the Ursuline Convent of Quebec.

The Reverend John Wheelwright was graduated from Cambridge University, England, in 1614. A contemporary of Cromwell, he had his troubles in his native land and decided to set sail for America. With his family he came to Boston, in 1636, and in 1637, went to Exeter, New Hampshire. By marriage, he was related to Anne Hutchinson massacred by the Indians.

Thomas Wheelwright, son of the Reverend John, by a former wife, was already permanently settled in Wells, Maine, in a part called Batcombe, after a little place in England. It was a peaceful spot. As told in the annals of the Ursulines, the apple orchards were bearing fruit, the wild berries were ripe, birds filled the air with sweet music, and the little children were on their way to school, when on August 10, 1703 an ugly sound suddenly broke upon this pretty scene; the Indians started a raid and left the place in ruins. Thirty-nine of the inhabitants were killed or captured and lovely Esther Wheelwright daughter of John Wheelwright and great-granddaughter of the Reverend John Wheelwright, only seven years old, was never again to see her father and mother. Her Indian captor brought her to his squaw and his own children who

called her "little pale face", and were kind to her. The Jesuit missionary Father Bigot (there were two brothers Jacques and Vincent) well known to the Abnakis, was one day invited to the best lodge to tell the story of the Great Spirit. Among the children was Esther, then about nine years old. The little girl in the tattered dress, whose fond mother had once lovingly cared for her golden tresses, stood out in sharp contrast to the children of the savages. Despite the hardships of the past months, listening to a tongue quite different from her native English, she still retained the gracious manners and the gentle ways inborn to a child of a frontier family, whose home even in those early days had a certain degree of comfort and a greater degree of culture. Father Bigot's first thought was how to restore her to her parents and to civilization. This was not an easy thing to do, but he could watch over her and bide his time. Within three years Esther spoke the Indian language as though it were her native tongue, and Father Bigot, speaking in that dialect, taught her how to love her Creator. These early missionaries, of old world culture, speaking many languages, mastered the various Indian dialects. Preserved in the library at Harvard College, is the MS of a dictionary prepared by Father Rale and in possession of the writer is an Indian catechism in which is found the following: "No labor has been spared to render this small work as correct as possible; yet considering the condition of the Indian language, destitute of grammar and dictionary, we beg the kind indulgence for every mistake which may have occurred, none of which, however, we hope to be material. Eugene Vetromile, Missionary of the Etchiminis, Bangor, 1858."

In the library of the Hispanic Society of America, is a perfect copy of what is now the oldest book printed in North America, *Doctrina Breve*, published in the City of Tenochtitlan, Mexico, June, 1544, by the Right Rev. Juan Zumárraga, first Bishop of Mexico, one hundred years before Daye brought forth the first edition of the *Bay State Psalm Book*.* The Ursuline nuns also had to learn the Indian language and what a difficult task it must have been in addition to their manifold duties.

Esther Wheelwright had grown to be a charming girl, her Indian

*The *Doctrina Breve* has been reproduced in facsimile by the United States Catholic Historical Society (1928).

companions had become fond of her, and it was not an easy matter to arrange the exchange. Father Bigot could not restore Esther to her family. Great intervening stretches of land, wandering tribes of savages, and continued French and English warfare were obstacles which his priestly zeal could not overcome. Finally, presents and bribes, won the consent of the Indian chief, and, in the autumn of 1708, Esther Wheelwright became the protegee of the Governor of Quebec, the Marquis Philippe de Vaudreuil, and passed from the wigwam to the palace, at the age of twelve. What happiness she must have found in this Christian, cultured home presided over by the wife of the Marquis, Louise Elizabeth Joybert, mother of twelve children. With the daughters of the Marquis she made the acquaintance of the nuns at the Ursuline Convent, where Mother Mary Benedict Davis, the first New England nun, had already spent eight years as a professed member of the Community. In the meantime, the Marquis tried in vain, as Father Bigot had, to restore her to her family. It was the will of Divine Providence, however, that Esther Wheelwright was to remain in Quebec. In October 1712, she entered the monastery as a novice, and two years later, the required probationary time, she was professed. She was elected Superior in 1760, and served nine years in that office. She died at the age of eighty. The name Esther Wheelwright has been handed down through generations; to a grand-niece who at the time lived in Roxbury, Massachusetts, she sent some of her embroidery exhibited over sixty years ago. To another relative she gave a painting of herself in the habit or dress of the Ursuline Order. Her father pathetically mentioned her in his will; at that time she had been separated from him over thirty years.

The third Religious of New England birth was Mary Dorothea Jeryan, born in 1705; her birthplace unknown. She was made captive at such an early age, the only home she remembered was the wigwam. It is touching to read that she reckoned time by the budding flowers or the falling snow. Good Father Rale, who had baptized Mother Mary Benedict Davis, also took spiritual charge of little Mary Dorothea. Later, Father Joseph Aubury taught her a sufficient knowledge of the French language to aid her in further study. When she was past fifteen she was placed under the tutelage

of the Ursulines of Quebec. Her progress as a student was not rapid, but these understanding women of God, appreciating her piety and zeal, admitted her to the novitiate. After serving the required time as a novice, she was professed in 1722. As Mother St. Joseph, she worked zealously, daily thanking God for that blessed, peaceful home founded by those three valiant women of France. She died April 14, 1759.

Educationally this historic institution has advanced with the changing conditions, but fundamentals never change. In 1639 the Ursulines commenced their labors for the Indian children, in what they always designated as the "seminary". A division was necessary, of course, for from the beginning children with far different backgrounds and traditions have been enrolled in Ursuline convents, both in Canada and in the United States. In reading their annals one will find names representing the best of families and several generations of families. These moulders of character did their work well for the Indians. Now they have them no more. The different Ursuline convents, throughout North America are on a normal school or college basis today.

In that "garden enclosed", in a spot blessed in a special manner by Divine Providence, where the trees lift their branches towards Heaven, where the birds sing their song of praise, where the noise of the city does not penetrate, lie the mortal remains of our three native New England nuns. Unheralded and unsung, they found that peace and happiness which was a foretaste of greater joys beyond.

For this bit of New England history, we must go back to the days when almost every household was using the spinning wheel; houses were lighted by candles except the more favored ones that burned whale oil in the Argand lamp introduced into this country by Thomas Jefferson; when the open fire was preferred but stoves and "Franklins" were beginning to be used. It was the day of the stage coach too, the day when Colonial gentry wore the picturesque garb which now makes the paintings of John Singleton Copley and his contemporaries such prized possessions.

A century and a half ago a little girl came into the world to take a unique place in the annals of New England; she was the fourth woman of New England birth to become a nun and she came from

Vermont. For many years it was thought that she was the first New England nun and there was some authority given for this belief. It is easy to understand the error. The three Ursulines of the Quebec Convent lived a cloistered life; they sought no worldly honors, but Frances Allen occupied an important place in this part of the world. She was the daughter of Ethan Allen, patriot and Brigadier General in the Revolutionary War.

The town in which she was born has changed very little, despite the march of time. It is a quiet place. Today, one hundred and fifty-four years since her birth, it has a population of 651, one general store, and the inevitable sign of modernity, a filling station. In more than half a century the population has increased less than one hundred.

In Sunderland, Bennington County, on the Batten Kill River, on November 13, 1784, there was born to Ethan Allen and Frances Montessor Allen, a daughter whom they named Frances. Ethan Allen was a man intensely loyal to his country and to his friends. Certain it is that the State of Vermont owes much to both Ethan, and to his brother Ira, the latter for his contributions to the cause of education. Ethan Allen was, however the last man in the world you would think of as father of a nun. He was an Atheist. When he died Fanny was five years old. It was the year George Washington took office as First President of the United States and it was also the year of the beginning of the French Revolution. When Fanny was nine years old, her mother, for four years a widow, became the wife of Dr. Jabez Penniman (1793). He was not an Atheist like her father but he was not at all a religious man and, in fact sought to exclude every thought of religion from the mind of his step-daughter.

The State of Vermont was discovered by a Catholic, Samuel de Champlain, who gave it its name, in 1609, one year after he founded Canada. In all probability the Sacrament of Confirmation was administered for the first time in the United States, in Vermont, by Bishop Laval, of Quebec, in 1668. Vermont, in 1810, was part of the diocese of Boston, Massachusetts.

Fanny Allen was naturally keen and intelligent and in some way acquired a knowledge of the Catholic religion. Some mysterious power, that irresistible urging poetically expressed by Cardinal

Newman in "Lead Kindly Light" and by Francis Thompson in "The Hound of Heaven", prompted her to learn more of the teachings and practices of the Catholic Faith. When she was about twenty-one, she expressed a wish to be allowed to go to a convent to acquire a knowledge of French. It was natural that she would be sent to Montreal, then the growing city and today the second largest French speaking city in the world. Before she left, however, her parents insisted that she must first be baptized by the Reverend Daniel Barber, then an Episcopalian minister in the not far away town of Claremont, New Hampshire. Later this same Daniel Barber entered the Catholic Church and the story of the conversion of the Barber family in its entirety it without parallel in the annals of New England.

Travelling in those days was not the easy thing it is today. In 1772 the first stage coach was put on the route between Boston and Providence and it took two days to make the trip, which today, by automobile, over the famous Boston Post Road, can be made in less than an hour. In 1776, by means of vehicles called "flying machines", the journey from New York to Philadelphia required two days of travel. In 1827, the first railroad was built in Quincy, Massachusetts.

It must then have been a most momentous occasion for Fanny Allen when she left her comfortable, cultured home in Sunderland, Vermont, for the convent where she was first to become a student of French and finally reach the conviction that she wished to be received into the fold of the Catholic Church.

In 1807, Frances Allen was enrolled as a student in the Notre Dame Convent, Montreal. France had sent some of her most distinguished daughters to inculcate their old world culture in the daughters of the new world, and fortunate indeed were the young women who shared the same roof with them. Faith is a gift and, once Frances Allen realized its value, her way was clear. Naturally her parents had other plans for her. They were in a position to give her much of this world's goods and socially her life was cast in a happy mould from a material point of view. For a short period she remained at home with her family but on September 29, 1808, the month when nature is so lavish with her beauty in Vermont, the Hotel Dieu, Montreal, the first hospital in Canada, received her

as a postulant. Hotel Dieu, God's Hostelry, now with accommodations for from 380 to 400 patients still carries on the noble work for humanity, which was begun in 1642 by one of the fairest daughters of France, Jeanne Mance. She was described as a gentle, lovely girl with large brown eyes and a wealth of auburn hair and at the age of fifty-three was "still a beautiful woman." She it was who decorated the altar for the first Mass said in Montreal, in the month of May "that calls the trees into blossom and the larks into song", almost three hundred years ago. Jeanne Mance was truly a pioneer. At the outset she faced great difficulties but with youth, strength and vision, aided by the wealth of another illustrious daughter of France, Angelique de Bullion, Hotel Dieu began its work in what is now St. Paul Street, a business section. Nothing remains of the original buildings, dating from the early days of Jeanne Mance. The site on which they were erected is now replaced by large stores and still the property of the Hotel Dieu. Today Hotel Dieu is one of the glories of Montreal; the Order is called the Religious Hospitallers of Saint Joseph, Hotel Dieu. It is a cloistered Order but the nuns are privileged to attend hospital conventions, universities, and in every way further their educational progress along their particular lines.

But let us leave the hustle and bustle of modern life for a quieter day, the day when Fanny Allen made her solemn vows in Religion, May 18, 1811. We can visualize the quaint little chapel crowded by her family and friends of a Puritan background. No doubt, many of them thought "how strange that a daughter of Ethan Allen should become the Bride of Christ". It was a ceremony of great beauty and solemnity and on that day one hundred and twenty-seven years ago, after three years of probation, Frances Allen continued the life work she had chosen, until God called her to her Heavenly Home. Strangely enough she entered the Order in the month of September, and she died September 10, 1819, after eleven zealous and saintly years, at Hotel Dieu. Her death was most edifying and made such an impression upon the attending physician that he too received the precious gift of Faith.

What a debt of gratitude we owe to the self sacrificing army of women in their varied garbs of Sisterhood working in the hospitals caring for the sick, in the convents and colleges working for right

thinking, for culture and for Truth. It has been said and rightly too, by Edith O'Shaunnessy in *Alsace in Rust and Gold*, "I think for the thousandth time how perfect the polish the conventual life gives." It is not veneer; it is a polish built upon a Stone.

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ST. BONAVENTURE COLLEGE AND THE FRIEDSAM MEMORIAL LIBRARY

BY REV. IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O.F.M., M.A., S.T.B., B.L.S.

ON MARCH 7, 1938, St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, New York, saw the dedication of the Friedsam Library on the College Campus. Fittingly, the ceremonies were held on the Feast of St. Thomas, the Angel of the Schools. To the Franciscan belongs the happy faculty of progressing along the broad avenues of experience, yet keeping the memories of the past withal. The dedication of this beautiful library is not only a distinct step in progress for the Friars at Allegany, but brings up old memories; the imperishable traditions of the past. The new building stands as a memorial to the late Colonel Michael Friedsam. To him St. Bonaventure College owes a debt of gratitude which neither fleeting time can ever repay nor words adequately convey. This generous New York philanthropist not only labored and saved wisely here below, but he also dedicated his earnings to the cause of culture, education, and the advance and welfare of humanity. His generous gift also recalls the spiritual foresight, faith and generosity of Nicholas Devereux, the saintly man who was instrumental in bringing the Franciscan Friars to the valley of the Allegany in the heart of New York State, where they founded St. Bonaventure College in 1859.

Much has been written, and deservedly so, about the Devereux family and its relation to St. Bonaventure. A beautiful dormitory building stands on the Campus as a memorial to their generosity. Thomas P. Kernan, in writing about Nicholas Devereux, his grandfather, says on one occasion: "To enumerate the repeated liberal gifts to this particular Society as well as the great ecclesiastical body to which they belonged, would best become those who have partaken of their benefits."

The ancestry and earlier life of Nicholas Devereux have been treated in Volume XXV of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES. Also *Medieval Francis in Modern America*, by Fr. Adalbert Callahan, O.F.M. (New York, Macmillan, 1936), gives a glowing account of Nicholas Devereux and his generosity to St. Bonaventure

College. He devotes practically one-third of the volume to this first benefactor and the college. In the early numbers of a privately printed periodical, *Provincial Annals*, Fr. Callahan gives us thumb-nail sketches and reminiscences of Allegany pioneers. An article entitled "Catholic Action, Bible Readers and Publishers," by Thomas F. Meehan, appeared in *America*, for January 16, 1937. It brings out the interesting fact that Father Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., President of St. Bonaventure, is a renowned student of the Bible. It also recalled the fact that the founding of St. Bonaventure was due to the generosity of a layman, Nicholas Devereux, one of whose characteristics was his devotion to the Bible, its study and circulation. He was well known as merchant and banker in the City of Utica, and was instrumental in bringing there the first branch of the United States Bank. He was director of the Utica Savings Bank, the New York Life and Trust Company, the Utica Steam Woolen Mills, and the Utica and Schenectady Railroad. He was also the manager for the New York State Asylum for the Insane, and a trustee of the Utica Water Works. He was one of the founders of St. John's Orphan Asylum, and brought the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, Maryland, to care for the orphans. Little wonder, then, that he was elected first mayor of Utica by popular vote.

But Nicholas Devereux did not confine himself to the development of his adopted town. Liberal and public-spirited, his interests extended far and wide and embraced the general improvement of the State of New York. He took a personal interest in the Erie Canal, the Genessee Canal and the Erie Railroad. He was a generous sponsor of the De Witt Clinton colonization plan. Associated with the Holland Land Company, and owner of the Devereux Purchase of some one-half million acres, he planned to fill Western New York with beautiful villages and happy homes. It was his idea to found a modern Utopia, or model community, which he would call Allegany City, and would locate in the center of his vast holdings. This town was to be a university center, and was planned, surveyed, plotted, the streets and avenues were named, a large hotel and other buildings were erected with this in view. Due to the lack of cooperation, however, from those who would profit most from such an undertaking it did not materialize further.

Another cause for the failure of the project was the fact that the Erie Railroad changed its originally proposed route, which would have gone through Allegany City.

Great as were his civic achievements, they were overshadowed by his labors for the propagation of the Faith. He was a lay missionary, zealous, generous, a veritable pillar of the Church, and a staunch promoter of Catholic Action. Imbued with the true missionary spirit, he labored for the foundation of the first Catholic church in Western New York, St. John's in Utica (1819). In the early days when there was neither church nor priest, he read prayers and a sermon to the few Catholics congregated in his own home. As has already been mentioned, he was a lover of the Holy Bible, and, there being a dearth of Bibles in this country at that time, he had a cheap edition of the New Testament published and distributed at cost. He made use of every opportunity to instill love for the Bible in his Sunday School pupils. He also helped to finance the first Catholic church in Hartford, Connecticut, by a loan of \$10,000. Shortly before his death he promoted a movement which culminated in the foundation of the North American College in Rome, a seminary to train priests for the United States.

Since Nicholas Devereux and his heirs have been responsible for the coming of the Franciscans to New York, they also deserve to share in the fruits and the praise of accomplishments which have resulted from their kind gift which brought the Friars and founded the college. Not only were the Friars the pioneers for Catholicism in Allegany, Chautauqua, and Cattaraugus counties, but they also may be truly called the Apostles of Western New York. They are equally well-known for their work in the field of education and may be called the founders of education and educational institutions in this part of the country. With the Friars of Allegany the Devereaux family may share in the founding of St. Patrick's Parish in Buffalo, New York; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Mt. Vernon, New York; St. Francis of Assisi, New York, New York; St. Joseph's, Winsted, Connecticut; St. Leonard's, Boston, Massachusetts; St. Peter's, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; St. Vincent de Paul, Houston, Texas. These are but some of the fifty or more parishes either founded or cared for by Franciscans from St. Bonaventure, and do not include about twenty-five parishes or missions attended

from St. Bonaventure as a center. The founding of two Communities of Sisters by the President of the College is also worthy of note. Father Pamphilus not only founded the Sisters of St. Francis at Allegany, New York, but the Congregation of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate also owes its origin to him. Members of these communities are now engaged in educational, hospital, and other charitable works.

Two members of the American Hierarchy, Most Reverend John McMahon, and Most Reverend John Francis O'Hern, both deceased, are inscribed in the baptismal register of the Franciscan Church in Allegany. A former president of the College, Diomedea Falconio, who also had the distinction of being the youngest college president, became Apostolic Delegate at Washington and later cardinal. Another son of St. Bonaventure is Archbishop Paschal Robinson, now the Apostolic Nuncio to Ireland. More than three hundred priests now laboring in the New York Province and over a thousand secular priests have been ordained from St. Bonaventure Seminary. Bishop Mark Gannon, of Erie, Pennsylvania; Bishop Francis J. Tief of Concordia, Kansas; Bishop Richard T. Guilfoyle of Altoona, Pennsylvania, and Archbishop Thomas J. Walsh of Newark, New Jersey, all claim St. Bonaventure as their Alma Mater. Thousands of lay Alumni have been graduated from that humble college founded through the generosity of Nicholas Devereux. These men were educated by the sons of St. Francis and have gone into the world imbued with the seraphic spirit. Every walk of life reflects credit on the Franciscan training received at St. Bonaventure College, and in turn casts a glow of gratitude on those who helped to make it possible. It is true, the achievements of the Friars redound to the praise and glory of those who brought them here and assisted them in their work.

The first President of the College was the able and learned Father Pamphilus da Magliano, O.S.F., author and translator of several volumes still extant. In the oldest college catalog (1874) we find mention of the library in the words "St. Bonaventure College and Seminary possesses a large and well-selected Library of valuable books." There is no mention made in the records as to the location of the library nor any reference to the identity of the librarian. Some years after the founding of the College, the librarian was able

to report (1881): "The efforts of our pioneers in the noble cause of religion and education were smiled upon by a benign Providence. Friends and patrons sent in their liberal contributions of valuable books . . . and so in a short time the library at St. Bonaventure grew to respectable proportions." This same report gives the first idea of the extent, content and condition of the Library, as well as the name of the librarian. Father Arcade Mogyrosi, O.F.M., who was in charge of the library at this time, enthusiastically tells us: "The library proper measures 40x24 feet. There are now collected 5,230 volumes arranged according to their subject matter . . . valued at fifteen thousand dollars."

The man who unquestionably deserves the greatest meed of praise and recognition for laying the foundation for the magnificent collection of books now in the St. Bonaventure library is the Reverend Joachim Guerrini, O.S.F., who seems to have been another *Petrus Comestor*, "Book-Devourer." His name is inscribed in hundreds of old and rare volumes, many of them obtained from European friends, others from collections in New York and Philadelphia. At the turn of the century, we find the following note in the annual college catalog: "The library is well-supplied with works of reference." The librarian also mentions the fact that there were then 9,297 volumes in the library. In addition to the works of most authors, both ancient and modern, St. Bonaventure library is rendered peculiarly attractive by the collection of rare books, which a writer in *Donahoe's Magazine* describes as containing "some of the finest specimens of the art of early printing, binding, and engraving to be seen in this country." Father Joseph Butler, O.F.M., acquired many of these rare items including Incunabula, for the growing library. After 1911, the report of the librarian gives an approximate number of volumes in the library each year from which we learn that in 1912 there were about 20,000 volumes, and 31,000 by 1932. At present the library has over 40,000 volumes.

Only the central collection of about 15,000 volumes was housed in old Alumni Hall, the home of the library from 1871 to 1937. A Philosophy and Theology library was located in the Seminary; a Literary and History collection in the Father James Dolan Literary Society rooms; a Science library in the rooms of the Alpha Kappa

Mu Fraternity, and a Priests' and Clerics' Library in the Monastery. Space will not permit enumeration and much less a description of all the literary treasures in the library. Besides a wealth of archival material relating to St. Bonaventure's and parishes founded by the Allegany Friars, the library also contains many items of interest which combine intrinsic value with a personal history. To single out a few worthy of note, we might mention a Hebrew Bible bearing the name of Bishop Timon, the first Bishop of Buffalo, and a *Ceremonial* with the fine signature of Cardinal Falconio. There is a collection of Indian books and a hand-written glossary by the famous missionary Father Otto Skolla, O.F.M., who spent some time at St. Bonaventure as pastor of the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation before setting out to evangelize the Chippewas. Another interesting item is Bishop Timon's own copy of the *Nouvelle Decouverte* by Father Louis Hennepin, O.F.M. This little book, written by the first white man to see and describe Niagara Falls, contains the first printed picture of this world famous natural beauty spot. There are in all, over a thousand volumes of manuscripts, Incunabula, and rare editions. Five of the manuscripts were on display at the request of the Librarian of Congress in the special exhibit held during April 1931. An unusually fine specimen of manuscript work is the copy of *The Epistles of Saint Paul*, which is estimated to date from the early fourteenth century. The works of St. Bonaventure, Dun Scotus, Alexander of Hales, Nicolaus of Lyra, and of many other outstanding authors are here in Incunabula form. History and travel, geography and the natural sciences, as well as literature, many of the volumes antedating Columbus, are all represented in the Rare Book vault. There are two unique and interesting copies of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, and a copy of the first Encyclopedia, entitled *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, by Bartholomew, the Englishman.

During the last two decades, the librarians were Father John B. M. Roser, O.F.M., Father Philip Waldman, O.F.M., Father James Keenan, O.F.M., followed by Father David Baier, O.F.M. Father Albert O'Brien, O.F.M., became the next librarian, and during his management, the library was generously supported financially and morally by the College authorities who were growing ever more

library-minded. In a short time it assumed a commanding position in the scholastic activities of the College. As a former student once remarked: "When Father Albert took charge of the library, it became not only a house of books, but a fascinating place of mental and aesthetic stimulation: one of the most popular spots on the campus." With the generous cooperation of his library assistants and the no less generous financial aid of the Alumni and Alumnae of St. Bonaventure College, Father Albert was able to renovate the fifty year old library in such a manner as to produce in it an attractive home-like atmosphere.

A long cherished hope became a reality with the gift of \$125,000 by the Friedsam Foundation for a new library building. On May 16, 1937, Father Albert blessed the site and broke ground for the new building, and within a month the foundations were taking a concrete form.

Less than two months after the happy day when he saw the beginning of his "Dream come true", Father Albert met with a fatal accident and died at Albuquerque, New Mexico. He was laid to rest July 16, 1937, on the hill overlooking the campus he loved so well. As a continuation of the tribute paid to him at his funeral, the corner-stone of the new library was laid the same day: a fitting memorial, symbolizing as it does the enshrinement of the spirit of Father Albert O'Brien.

Eight months after actual work had begun on the new building the library was ready for the collection of books. On February 17, 1938, the entire student body transferred the forty-thousand volumes to their new home. A unique method was used and found practical. The student body formed two human chains extending from the old to the new library, and passed the books hand to hand from the shelves of the old to the steel stacks of the new. March 7, 1938, witnessed the formal opening and dedication of this new library erected through the generosity of the late Colonel Michael Friedsam, the well-known business man and philanthropist of New York City.

Marked by impressive simplicity and cultural dignity, the formal dedication of this Friedsam Memorial Library at St. Bonaventure College, took place on the feast of the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, and the patronal feast of the Very Rev. Thomas

Plassmann, O.F.M., president of the institution. The blessing was imparted by the Right Rev. Mgr. John J. Nash, D.D., LL.D., Prot. Ap., Vicar General of the Buffalo Diocese, representing the Most Rev. Bishop John A. Duffy, who was abroad. The presentation of the library was made by James A. Keillor, member of the Board of Trustees of the Friedsam Foundation, through which organization the funds for the new building were provided. Pointing out that the "makers and collectors of books have had a great influence on civilization," Mr. Keillor refuted the charge that "America is a materialistic nation". "Libraries flourish in America as nowhere else," he asserted. "The love of learning and the sacrifices of those men who teach youth is noted in this country as nowhere else." Reminding the audience that the library was made possible "by the action of a man of another creed," Mr. Keillor said that the late Colonel Michael Friedsam was a believer in the brotherhood of man and he expressed the hope that the new structure might serve as a foundation for those who come to study in future years, and that the spirit of God might live forever in its walls. In behalf of the college, the library was accepted by Father Thomas, who paid high tribute to Colonel Michael Friedsam.

Other speakers included Irwin A. Conroe, M.A., Director of Divisions of Higher Education, State Department of Education, Albany; Herbert L. Sackett, Ph.B., M.A., principal of Olean High School, who spoke in behalf of the community; Father Victor Mills, O.F.M., Dean of the Department of Social Sciences, who spoke in behalf of the St. Bonaventure Faculty; and Joseph Cleary, B.A., Class of 1937, in behalf of the student body.

Complete to the minutest detail, the Friedsam Library is 200 feet long, 38 feet deep on either end and reaches a depth of 70 feet in the center. The central feature of the building is a 60 foot octagonal tower with four massive rose windows. The impressive portico leading into the spacious lobby is 20 feet high with a Spanish tiled roof. Set off in terra cotta are figures of two angels on the main pillars. Each figure holds a scroll. On one is inscribed *Nova* and on the other *Vetera*, from the Gospel of St. Matthew (xiii, 52), the "new and the old", symbolizing the wealth of material within. A hanging lantern in the center of the portico is capable of illuminating the entrance and also the piazza of flagstone

surrounding it. Above the graceful arched doorway is a circular plaque bearing the name Friedsam Library. In the center of the plaque is the Latin inscription, *In principio*, from the Book of Genesis and the Gospel of St. John (I, 1). Recessed in the center of the tower above the portico is a beautiful terra cotta image of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The image recalls the settlement of the Franciscan Friars in Cattaraugus County soon after the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Library will indeed be a monument to the generosity of a great merchant and his associates, just as Devereux Hall will ever stand as a memorial to the generosity of Nicholas Devereux. These two splendid buildings on the campus of St. Bonaventure College will speak more eloquently than words of the man who has made St. Bonaventure possible, and the man who has materially aided the College in its work of educating God-fearing citizens. Their names will be ever held in benediction at St. Bonaventure and "their work will live after them."

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FATHER JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J.

BY CORNELIA CRAIGIE

THIS issue of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES would be incomplete if it did not do its part in celebrating the eightieth birthday of one of its most learned and highly esteemed contributors, Father Joseph Fischer, S.J., of Stella Matutina College, Feldkirch, Austria. The important anniversary occurred on March 19, 1938, and was observed at Feldkirch, where Father Fischer has been Professor of Geography and History since 1895, with every mark of the affection and honor in which he is held in that famous educational institution.

Father Fischer was born at Quadraath, Rhein, Germany, in 1858, and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-three. He pursued his studies in Jesuit Scholasticates in Holland, England and Austria, and at the Universities of Münster, Munich, Innsbruck and Vienna. At Innsbruck, he was a pupil of Franz von Wieser, whose encouragement in his geographical and historical researches inspired him in the choice of his life work. An examination paper of that time on the discoveries of the Northmen in America was published several years later (1902), and was illustrated by important fifteenth century maps, showing Greenland as a peninsula of Northern Europe.

Pursuing his researches on the Northmen in the Library of Wolfegg Castle in Wüttemberg, Father Fischer (he had been ordained in 1891) was to make a discovery of the greatest interest to the geographical world, no less a map than that of Waldseemüller, made in 1507 and known to exist and hunted for industriously by scholars up to that time. It is the first world map which gives the name America to the New World. This discovery was followed by that of another large map by Waldseemüller, the Carta Marina of 1516. Both of these maps were published by him and Wieser in collaboration, with German and English text (Innsbruck, 1903).

Highly valuable as were these geographical works, they were only the forerunners of Father Fischer's later achievements in his chosen field. Two epoch-making discoveries, which also took place at Wolfegg, were the subjects of two other important works, the map of the world of Jodocus Hondius (1610), which he published

in 1911, and the first map of Germany, made by Nicholas of Cusa in the middle of the fifteenth century, and published by Fischer in 1930 at Prague.

But his most important contribution to the science of cartography is his edition of Ptolemy's Geography. Years of research in the Libraries of England, France and Italy, particularly at the Ambrosiana at Milan, where he was assisted by the learned suggestions of the Director, Dr. Achille Ratti (now Pope Pius XI), and at the Vatican Library, brought him into intimate contact with the sources from which he developed his great work. This was published in 1932, simultaneously at Leyden and Leipzig, under the specified patronage of Pope Pius XI, and consists of one folio and three quarto volumes, entitled *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae*. It treats very exhaustively of Ptolemy and his geography, both in text and cartographical reproductions, and of his influence on the geography of the world up to the time of the Renaissance.

Father Fischer was elected a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 1934, and honorary Doctor of the University of Innsbruck, 1935. He has been honored by the Geographical Society, Berlin, 1933 (Karl Ritter Medal) and by the Geographical Societies of London and New York. He is a contributor to many learned publications, and is the author of half a dozen articles in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. His work for HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES has been particularly noteworthy, and deals principally with the geographical questions concerned with the discovery of America.

There is more than gratification for the United States Catholic Historical Society in having, through its HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES, been instrumental in bringing to its readers so many pages of Father Fischer's ripe scholarship, which as Americans we find of absorbing interest, and in which, as Catholics, we take a very proper pride.

For those who are specially interested in his work this list of his contributions to RECORDS AND STUDIES will be useful: "Tithes for the Crusades in Greenland, 1276-1282," Volume III, Part ii; "Claudius Clavus, First Cartographer of America," Volume VI, Part i; "Ptolemy Manuscript with Maps, in New York Public Library" and "Globe-Goblet of Wolfegg," Volume VI, Part ii;

"Results of My Cartographic Investigations," Volume VII. The major item of the list, of course, is the splendid facsimile reproduction by the Society, in 1907, as Volume IV of the Monograph Series, of the *Cosmographiae Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller, edited by Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the historic little book (April 25, 1507) in the village of St. Dié in Lorraine. To this was added *The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci* and reproduction of Waldseemüller's two World Maps of 1507, with an introduction written by Father Fischer and Professor Franz Von Wieser. The *Introductio* was translated into English by Professor Edward Burke and *Amerigo's Voyages* by Dr. Mario E. Cosenza. Copies of this reproduction have since been eagerly sought for by libraries here and abroad.

JAMES G. BLAINE'S RELIGION

A CONTRIBUTOR of a historical series in the Philadelphia *Catholic Standard and Times*, who signs his articles with the pen name "The Rambler," devoted that in the issue of April 1, 1938, to the religion of James G. Blaine. It is now quoted here because of its interest for historical research students. He says:

We are reverting to the subject at this time in order to give our readers the benefit of an important letter written by the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, of Altoona, on November 20, 1905, which has the effect of clearing up the confusion regarding Mr. Blaine's religion. It was called forth by a book review in the New York *Sun* of a recently published biography of the man from Maine. Here is the letter:

"In the book notice of the life of James G. Blaine in Sunday's *Sun* I find the following statement:

'In 1820 Ephraim Blaine married Marie Louise Gillespie, also a descendant of a Scotch-Irish immigrant, but a Roman Catholic. The ceremony was performed by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church at the Gillespie homestead. By a divergence from the usual practice in the case of the marriage of a Catholic and a Protestant, all the children were brought up in the Presbyterian faith.'

"Now, there are here two glaring errors that for the sake of historical accuracy, should be corrected. Whether the errors are to be credited to Edward Stanwood, the writer of the life of Blaine, or the reviewer, I cannot state. I am, however, inclined to believe that they are due to Mr. Stanwood and are quite inexcusable in one who is said to be 'exceptionably qualified for the task undertaken by him.'

"The first false statement is that Mr. Blaine's mother, Maria Louise Gillespie, was a descendant of a Scotch Irish immigrant. No, there was no Scotch in her make-up; Gillespie is pure Irish without any admixture of Scotch or anything else. Let us be done with the Scotch Irish myth, at least when we come to write honest history.

"The second and much more serious error is that all the children (of the marriage of Ephraim Blaine and Maria L. Gillespie) were

brought up in the Presbyterian faith. This is absolutely false. They were all brought up, not in the Presbyterian faith, but in the religion of their mother, the Catholic Faith. And not only that, but James G. Blaine's father, Ephraim, died in that Faith and his remains rest in the Catholic Cemetery at Brownsville, Pa., beside those of his Catholic wife.

"These facts are well known to the older residents of the place and were furnished to me by the Catholic priest of Brownsville, who prepared James G. Blaine for Confirmation and his First Holy Communion in the Catholic Faith. Perhaps this will throw a new light on what Mr. Blaine wrote when he was a candidate for the Presidency. 'I will never consent to make any public declaration on the subject of religion. No pressure will ever draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics.' And for good reasons evidently.

"Yet later on by a strange irony the public declaration of Burchard touching on religion, and the religion of Catholics, lost James G. Blaine the Presidency. The very thing he wished to hide and conceal was, in the end, this brilliant man's undoing."

"There is an interesting footnote to this letter from Father Sheedy. After the collapse of his campaign as the result of Burchard's blunder, Mr. Blaine was asked why he had permitted himself to give seeming consent to the attack on Catholicism by his silence. His reply was that he did not realize the meaning of it all until he had read the speech in print. He said that while Burchard was talking he (Blaine) was not listening to the address, but was mentally preparing his reply, which was quite general in its character. He added that he would not, for a moment, have given assent to an attack 'upon the religion of my sainted mother.'

"On March 6, 1910, Cardinal Gibbons in an address emphasized the fact that men's hopes do not depend upon wealth or honors, and illustrated the point he was trying to make with a reference to the career of James G. Blaine. He said:

"'Oh, how capricious and treacherous is human applause, as we see from daily examples. A few years ago James G. Blaine was, perhaps, the most popular citizen of the United States. He was called by his admiring friends 'The Plumed Knight.' He drew thousands to him by his personal magnetism. He almost became

President and would have obtained the coveted prize were it not for the ill-timed speech of a fanatical preacher. His name today is well nigh forgotten. His memory arouses no enthusiasm and I do not know whether there is a monument over his grave. He himself became profoundly impressed with the vanity of earthly glory. On the occasion of a visit to me shortly after his defeat he enumerated on his fingers the names of Presidents who were weighted down by the cares of State, or whose public careers were suddenly cut short by death.'

"One more connecting link in this story of the family of James G. Blaine and we are through. Eliza Maria Gillespie was born in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on February 21, 1824. Her parents lived in a large stone house in that town. It was a double structure and in the other half of it lived her uncle and aunt and their family. They were the Blaines. About six years after the birth of Eliza Gillespie, a son was born to the Blaines. The little girl became very much attached to this boy cousin and as they grew older they became playmates and were very much attached to each other.

"The boy was James Gillespie Blaine and the girl became Mother Angela, of the Holy Cross Sisters. She migrated from Pennsylvania to Illinois about the time Blaine moved to Maine. Thereafter their paths rarely crossed although each kept up a friendly interest in the other. Mother Angela was related to the Shermans and the Ewings and many other prominent families of the Middle West. She won a reputation as a teacher in that part of the country. In the meantime the Civil War had burst forth and there was a call for volunteer nurses. Mother Angela was one of the first to offer her services to the Government at Washington. Father Sorin, the founder of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the United States, accompanied Mother Angela to the capital and introduced her to President Lincoln. Later, the splendid work of Mother Angela in caring for the sick and wounded gave her a high place among the 'Angels of the Battlefield' who won imperishable fame in the Civil War.

"Mother Angela died March 4, 1887, deeply mourned by the Sisterhood of which she was an ornament and beloved by all who knew her. Her funeral was a great demonstration of faith as well

as a tribute to her worth and character. A flood of messages, letters and telegrams came from all parts of the country. One wire addressed to Hon. John G. Ewing was as follows: 'Your message is a sad one to me. Communicate my deepest sympathy to Aunt Mary and your mother.'

"It was signed 'James G. Blaine.' The bond of friendship between the two had never wavered. Mr. Blaine was not able to attend the obsequies, but he was represented by his son, Emmons Blaine, and other members of his family. He did not practice his early Catholic Faith, and in his biography it is stated that when he went to Augusta, Maine, to live he joined the Congregational Church in that city."

AMERICAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES

BY FRANCIS M. CROWLEY, A.M., PH.D.

Paper read at the General Meeting, November 16, 1938

There has been a great deal of discussion of late bearing on the rôle of the university in the modern world. To a certain extent the discussion has been concerned with principles rather than with the historical phases of university development. An earnest effort has been made to develop some agreement on what should be the fundamentals of a philosophy of higher education. Some have pointed out that the field of higher education represents the most chaotic conditions in thought and the most uncertain practices in organization to be found in the whole field of education. Much of the renewed, and in some instances entirely new, interest in higher education may be traced to the controversy started by President Robert Hutchins' *The Higher Learning in America*.¹ Hutchins' thesis that higher learning should be established on a rational basis brought down on his head a storm of protest to the effect that his proposed unifying principle, metaphysics, would not be acceptable to the great body of teachers in higher education, since science had demonstrated that no system of first principles could be verified as final truth.² In his controversial monograph, Hutchins compared the modern university with an encyclopedia containing many truths, and held that, like the encyclopedia, the university had no principle of unity except that provided by the alphabetical arrangement of its departments running from art to zoology. This is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of the principles enunciated by Hutchins, but the vociferous reception accorded his proposals indicates that there is quite a sharp division amongst the professors as to just what is wrong with higher education in America. Other able critics, such as Abraham Flexner³ and Norman Foerster,⁴

¹Hutchins, R. M. *The Higher Learning in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

²See review of Hutchins' book by H. D. Gideonse in *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, April 1938. pp. 373-376.

³Flexner, A. *Universities, American, English, German*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930.

⁴Foerster, N. *The American State University*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

have also contributed to a better understanding of the unsatisfactory conditions existing in higher educational institutions in this country and abroad.

The Hutchins controversy helped to clear the atmosphere but there is still much confusion, indirection and futility inherent in the principles governing the organization and administration of higher educational institutions not controlled by the Church. Hutchins is at least partially right in his thesis that there must be some ordering process to serve as a unifying element in the program. In developing his argument, he cites the effective employment of theology by the medieval university as the ordering principle, providing for the orderly progression of the mind from truth to truth. In this age of disbelief, however, he suggests that educational leaders compromise on metaphysics. What Hutchins is really trying to point out is that the principle of secularization has worked havoc at the level of higher education. In excluding theology from the university, injury has been worked to science and the unity of human culture and of truth have been destroyed. How fortunate our Catholic universities are to have both theology and philosophy in full play as unifying elements in the organization of programs leading to higher degrees. The universities controlled by the Church are strongholds of the Faith. They deal with man in his true dignity as a creature composed of body and soul, and made to the image and likeness of God.

It is indeed true, as Newman⁵ points out, that a Catholic university "is necessary for the life of the Church, not indeed as a source of truth, but as an agency for its dissemination, for the explanation and defense of the Church's doctrine, and for the higher training of Catholic youth. However, the university has even greater need of the Church. If it is to maintain order in the realm of truth, and this is according to definition its function, it will not be able to succeed in its task without recourse to the disciplinary power of the Church." Newman views the university, then, as an instrument which may be employed "to reunite things which were in the beginning joined together by God, and have been put asunder by man. . . . I want the intellectual layman to be religious, and the

⁵DeHovre, Rev. F. and Jordan, Rev. E. B. *Catholicism in Education*. New York: 1934, pp. 305-306.

devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual.”⁶ So, there is no doubt in the minds of Catholic leaders as to the nature of the philosophy of higher education which is acceptable for Catholic institutions of learning. Permeated by a genuine Catholic educational philosophy, they function with the certain conviction that truth is attainable and that the unifying principle must be the teachings of the Church handed down by the Author of all truth. If they hold to this philosophy, they will continue to serve as great spiritual centers radiating power and affecting national aspirations and national achievements because truth must ultimately prevail. They will be given the power to throw light on the pressing problems of the hour and to lift America and the Church to ever higher levels of achievement.

I

The chief purpose of this organization demands that the discussion of our topic be largely historical in character. We know from experience that there are many other topics we should prefer to discuss, chiefly because there is a controversial element inherent in American Catholic university programs which has led to much misunderstanding and disagreement. But the problem is so challenging and holds so much of interest for all of us that we feel you will be lenient in judging our rather sketchy treatment of the development of American Catholic universities. A wealth of information must be compressed into a short space. For the sake of conciseness, masses of facts must be summarized briefly. Because of the limitations of space, descriptions may at times take on the form of assertions. Some of the foregoing are among the handicaps we must labor under in trying to discuss such an important topic in such a short space of time.

The student of American Catholic higher education labors under great disadvantages because of the shortage of material covering the development of colleges and universities. Source materials are widely scattered. Again, many institutions have failed to record their achievements in such a form as to make the information available for general use. The story of American Catholic higher educa-

⁶Newman, John Henry, Cardinal. *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, New York, 1898, p. 13.

tion is still to be written. Primary and secondary sources now available deal largely with personal contributions, physical problems and local activities. Very little has been done to present a connected story showing the larger and more significant achievements, such as the contribution of a given institution or group of institutions to the cultural life of the nation, the part played in the preservation of the Catholic heritage, and the high service rendered in breaking down prejudices through developing a better understanding of the program of the Church.

We intend to show the steady development of Catholic colleges up to the point where it was possible to think in terms of university instruction. Certain common elements found in the development of all institutions will be brought into high relief, and the influence of secular agencies in shaping institutional programs will be examined in a critical light. As is true in all history, certain personalities will stand out, certain periods will be distinguished for rapid progress, while still others will be characterized by losses or a slower rate of growth, due to economic, social or political conditions or to a desire to consolidate gains already made. So the story will retail weaknesses and shortcomings just as well as achievements, for it is only through knowing where we have failed that we may set up safeguards against the possibility of repeating such failures. It is hoped that the emphasis placed on significant trends will point out the direction in which we are moving. It is an encouraging and heroic story we have to tell.

Some would not agree with us in our method of approach, feeling that we should plunge immediately into a discussion of American Catholic universities, but the record shows that our institutions have followed the pattern of development characteristic of secular institutions of higher learning in this country. As colleges grew in size and found greater resources at their disposal, they found it necessary to satisfy the insistent demands of graduates for instruction at higher levels. Many other factors led to the development of universities, of which the most important will be discussed as we progress.

II

In the early days there was little distinction made between a college and a secondary school. Our text on Catholic education

states that the appeal of a priest to his bishop for help in founding a college requested the modest appropriation of a horse and ten dollars for traveling expenses.⁷ Many institutions never advanced beyond the experimental stage. Of the thirty-eight in existence in 1850, eighteen were chartered, and five had the rank of universities. Georgetown had sixty-six students in 1792; Notre Dame in 1850 had sixty-nine including thirteen students in theology. Sometimes all the teaching was cared for by one man, and in one instance at least the Ordinary of the diocese cared for most of the teaching. Secular students and prospective seminarians were cared for in the same institution, and the curriculum ranged from simple elementary material through classical and philosophical studies.⁸

In the distinguished volume of the one-time Fordham French Jesuit, Father Augustus Thébaud, S.J., entitled *Forty Years in the United States* (1839-1885), published in its Monograph Series, by the United States Catholic Historical Society, we find a statement to the effect that one of the early foundations of the Society of Jesus, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kentucky, was empowered to grant to "some of our hopeful students or to respectable gentlemen of the country the high-sounding degrees of Ph.D., LL.D., D.S.T. (Doctor of Sacred Theology), or even in a more humble way the degree of Dr.Mus., though none of us knew how to sing or play on any instrument."⁹ The same author mentions that *Appleton's Cyclopedia* in 1881 listed 343 colleges and universities, seventy-two of which were reported as universities, a condition considered by him as "in all conscience ludicrous enough."¹⁰

After 1850 there was a great increase in the number of Catholic colleges for men, so that by 1866 there were sixty Catholic colleges for men in existence. Most of them were located in the populous East, but beginnings had been made in the Far West. Many of them, however, had a very short history, so that after the close of

⁷Burns, J. A., and Kohlbrenner, B. J. *A History of Catholic Education*. New York: 1937, p. 263-264.

⁸Cassidy, P. F. *Catholic College Foundations and Development in the United States (1677-1850)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. (1924), p. 96.

⁹Thébaud, A. J. *Forty Years in the United States of America, 1839-1885*. New York: United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series, Vol. II, 1904, p. 325.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

the Civil War only twenty-nine institutions were in existence.¹¹ By 1936 the number had increased to seventy-eight, distributed from coast to coast and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. The Society of Jesus controlled twenty-five of these institutions, the Benedictine Fathers, thirteen; secular or diocesan clergy, nine; Brothers of the Christian Schools, five; Congregation of the Mission, four; and Congregation of the Holy Cross, three. The remaining institutions, nineteen in number, are controlled by thirteen different Religious organizations.¹² The number of Religions active in the field of higher education is worthy of note.

Through the years Catholic colleges found it necessary to sacrifice much that is considered an essential part of the Catholic educational tradition. Poor preparation in public elementary and secondary schools necessitated the gradual sacrifice of the classical ideal, so that ultimately the classical languages, except in Jesuit institutions, were offered as electives. English, philosophy, science and the social sciences in time accounted for the major portion of the instruction. Despite the pressure of standardizing agencies, the utilitarian demands of patrons and the competition of secular institutions practising blatant electivism, it is to the eternal credit of the great body of men's colleges that they held doggedly to their belief in the efficacy of prescribed studies and the theory of relative values in subject-matter. Recent developments in the college world, calling for a higher degree of integration in the student's program, have vindicated their stand. The same holds true for their devotion to the age-old Catholic ideal of educating the whole man. The physical, spiritual and aesthetic needs of students were not sacrificed to secure the public acclaim accorded those who joined the motley collection of devotees of pragmatism, naturalism, materialism and numerous other isms choking the academic highways and byways of America. Occasional deviations from the path of academic rectitude are recorded for our Catholic institutions of higher learning; but they are not troubled by ghosts trooping out of an academic limbo demanding what they are going to do about "holoism" and "integrated personality" or numerous other academic panaceas, de-

¹¹Erbacher, S. A., O.F.M. *Catholic Higher Education for Men in the United States, 1850-1866*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. (1931), p. 116.

¹²*Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 1938, p. 29.

vised by educational tinkers too blind to perceive that their lack of direction and general ineptitude may be attributed to their initial blunder—the indorsement of an inadequate concept of the nature of man.

No phase of Catholic higher education merits greater attention than the story of the rapid development of facilities for the higher education of women. The Church has always fostered projects looking to the betterment of woman's educational standing. Her history is replete with examples of the special recognition accorded women as the intellectual peer of man. The expansion of the programs of Catholic academies for girls led in many instances to the inauguration of college courses. The insistent demand of academy graduates for additional training was usually cared for by offering a year or two of post-graduate work. The nucleus of a college group thus obtained made a four-year program possible. Post-graduate students were admitted at St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana, as early as 1870. The first full four-year institution established was the College of Notre Dame of Maryland in 1895. Trinity College, Washington, D. C., founded in 1897 and opened in 1900, was the first to be founded as a complete college from the beginning.¹³

The rate of growth since the opening of the century has been phenomenal. In fact, it may be an undesirable trend, since too many women's colleges may prove an evil rather than a blessing. By the close of 1904, three new colleges had been established, and by 1915, fourteen more had been added to the list. The first edition of the *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools* published in 1921 lists fifty-two colleges for women. By 1926 the number had increased to seventy-eight, and ten years later had reached the impressive total of 106.¹⁴ It is true that twenty-five of them were listed as Junior Colleges, yet even then the number of women's colleges is well in excess of the number of institutions for men, and there is no indication that the rate of increase of over two a year since the opening of the twentieth century is to be any lower during the next decade.

¹³Burns, J. A. and Kohlbrenner, B. J. *A History of Catholic Education*. New York: 1937, pp. 279-280.

¹⁴*Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 1938, p. 28.

The mortality has been negligible, due to (1) the support of the Sisterhoods interested in maintaining training schools for their own members, (2) the tremendous sacrifices made by the Communities to gain the prestige guaranteed by a higher institution under their control, (3) the steady stream of students supplied by the academies in which the Sisters serve as teachers.

The curriculum of the women's college closely parallels that offered by the typical liberal arts college for men. Vocational subjects in late years have been given a place of greater prominence, such as secretarial studies, social service, education, and home economics. Art and music receive special attention in many institutions. Due to the high standards maintained in women's colleges and higher professional requirements in all sections of the country, there has been a steady increase in the number of such graduates registering for advanced instruction in Catholic universities.

In 1936, the total number of teachers in the 184 colleges and universities reporting to the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Department of Education was 10,778.¹⁵ Of these, 5,051 or 47 per cent were Religious and 5,727 or 53 per cent, lay. The student enrolments in Catholic colleges and universities have shown a steady increase through the years, approximately 50,000 additional students registering between 1926 and 1936, an increase of 63 per cent. In 1936, the total enrolment for Catholic institutions of higher learning was 128,362. Of these, 49 per cent were men and 51 per cent, women. In 1934 the proportion was 51 per cent men and 49 per cent women. The growing number of women's colleges is largely responsible for the increase.

III

We think of a university as a gathering place for scholars charged with the high duty of imparting advanced instruction to eager students through courses leading to higher academic and professional degrees. It is a secluded place in which earnest souls push forward the frontiers of knowledge through scientific investigation and research. It is a great central power house from which lines

¹⁵*Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 1936, pp. 29-32.

of influence carry energy and enlightenment into every corner of the world. It influences national development and national life through its intimate connection with the political, cultural, social, and professional activities of the people. Faculties of law, medicine, theology, and numerous other professional groups, under the leadership of the graduate division or the graduate school, provide opportunities for advanced instruction, research, and high scholarship.

The university from its point of vantage looks out over the whole arena of human activity. Its workers sense problems and determine trends long before the general public is even aware of their existence. Its privileged freedom places it in an advantageous position to render true service. There are those who for selfish reasons, however, would dare to storm the citadel of truth and drag down its devoted workers to their own level, where material standards alone count. Such reactionaries see in a free institution an advocate of human liberty and social justice. They would have the scholar debase his God-given faculties for the purpose of rationalizing practices which run counter to ethical teachings. No matter what the field, we find this ever-present tendency to stifle the truth. It is in the sphere of liberty, unless we are greatly mistaken, that the university in the future is destined to render its greatest service. The university feels that it has the right to enter into the affairs of the community, the nation and the world because nothing that is human is strange to it. The good will that the university creates through a disinterested type of service is an invaluable asset. It provides the means whereby the institution may penetrate to the very heart of the cultural life of the nation and shape public opinion in a way which otherwise would not be possible. The university, then, strives to work for the common good and seeks no favor in dispensing the innumerable benefits her scholars provide for the betterment of mankind.

There are certain marks which a true university bears. It must enjoy complete freedom in the conduct of its work. New truths as discovered must be broadcast to influence the intellectual life of the times. An earnest, capable body of students must be trained to carry its inspirational message to the ends of the earth. In serving mankind it must be motivated by right principles. It cares for the interests of the professions. Its great concern must be the advance-

ment of knowledge. It is our thesis that the ideal university is the Catholic university. It is not only an intellectual center but it is also a spiritual center. Through the university the Church extends her influence and strengthens her position in the modern world. In founding institutions of higher learning, she has at heart the interests of her children and of those outside the Fold who need the strengthening influence of divine truth, since the teachings of pseudo-scientists are responsible for much of the indifferentism displayed by youth today. Catholic youth must be taught the canons of correct thinking so as to guard against indifferentism and defection. Thus, the Church enters the field of higher education to give to her charges the great fund of old and new knowledge at her disposal. She dispenses it under her benign auspices so as to guard the great heritage of the Faith. Literature, art, science; in fact, the whole range of human knowledge, in so far as it contains truth and does not masquerade under the name of truth, is at the disposal of those who come to her for higher instruction. Her teachers and her students move across this earthly sphere as the children of light, led by the high teachings of the Master to view all natural knowledge in the light of revelation. They are not beset by dire contradictions traceable to pride of intellect and obstinacy of the will. The need for a right fundamental attitude is a critical thing. It may be sought for and attained by others. Catholics cannot claim a monopoly. But the Catholic is compelled, however, to seek all objective knowledge and to conduct all scientific work with the attitude that there is no possibility of conflict between science and revealed religion. The thing that the Church has least to fear is the truth.

Our American Catholic universities have developed from our colleges. The desire to satisfy the legitimate demands of students for additional training, particularly of a professional nature, has been largely responsible for university development. The latest issue of the *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools* lists twenty-six universities.

The administrative officers of several of these institutions would be the first to admit that they are not in a position to perform the function of a university as it is commonly understood in the United States. In this country a university is an institution of

higher learning comprising a college of arts and sciences, certain professional schools, such as schools of law, medicine, engineering, etc., and especially a graduate school. The university includes, in addition to schools and colleges devoted to instruction and research, divisions of laboratories, libraries, and museums. There are a number of institutions of higher learning functioning under the aegis of the Church which are so organized and staffed as to be able to perform the function of a university through (1) imparting advanced instruction, (2) offering courses which lead to the higher academic and professional degrees, (3) preparing students for adding to human knowledge by scientific investigation and research. It is felt that there will be no offense taken if we confine our discussion to the opportunities for advanced study offered in those universities which have organized a graduate school and appointed an administrative officer responsible for the direction of graduate studies. They are as follows: Catholic University (Washington, D. C.); Creighton (Omaha); De Paul (Chicago); Detroit (Detroit); Duquesne (Pittsburgh); Fordham (New York); Georgetown (Washington, D.C.); Gonzaga (Spokane); Loyola (Chicago); Marquette (Milwaukee); Niagara (Niagara Falls); Notre Dame (South Bend); St. John's (Brooklyn); St. Louis (St. Louis).

The space at our disposal does not allow for a presentation of the history of each of the fourteen universities thus selected, so we have singled out a few institutions which may be considered as typical.¹⁶ Historical sketches have been prepared for four of the fourteen universities. One is the pontifical institution which comes under the immediate direction of the Hierarchy, the Catholic University of America. The other three are entitled to special treatment because they are approaching or have already held a centennary celebration, namely, Georgetown, St. Louis and Fordham. The conditions common to the development of these institutions could be paralleled in the evolution of any of the others.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY. Since "the Alma Mater of all Catholic colleges in the United States," founded in 1789, cele-

¹⁶The gross figures used in the discussion of professional education and graduate studies include the returns from eleven of the fourteen institutions for the school year 1937-38.

brates its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1939, it is only fitting that it should be the first to be treated in our discussion. The influence of Georgetown University reaches back through the years to the early days when the Federal Government was in its infancy. It took its name from the City of Georgetown, then a thriving metropolis, through which all good things from abroad reached the surrounding territory. The City of Washington was still an architect's dream. The significant rôle played by Archbishop Carroll in founding the institution has been generously recognized by the Society of Jesus in naming John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, one of the newer universities of the Church, after this great benefactor of Catholic education. Archbishop Carroll was intensely interested in training Catholic laymen to occupy positions of prestige and influence in the nation then forming, and was especially devoted to the hope that the institution would also supply a steady stream of priests for the missions. He felt that a strong college would give Catholics the type of aggressive leaders who could effectively agitate for the repeal of the constitutional disqualifications under which Catholics suffered at that time. His vision and good judgment were vindicated years later when William Gaston, the first student to register in 1791, achieved the unique distinction of being appointed, despite religious disqualifications, as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of his native state, North Carolina.¹⁷ The foregoing is cited as an example of the influence exercised by Georgetown in those early days in shaping the religious development of the country and determining Catholic progress.

The new institution was subjected to the vicissitudes common to all institutions of higher learning during the early stages of growth. Lack of interest in higher education on the part of Catholics, shortage of funds, legislative and social handicaps, and shortage of properly trained teaching personnel contributed to the slow development of the institution's program. Religious disabilities made it particularly difficult for Catholics to take full advantage of opportunities for higher education, and economic handicaps proved to be the same great barrier to progress that they have been in our

¹⁷Masterson, Rev. P. V. "A Short Sketch of Georgetown University," *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Boston, 1923, Vol. V, pp. 271-284.

own generation. Nevertheless, in the first half of its existence Georgetown was the only Catholic college which could boast a complete college curriculum. In 1815, Georgetown received a university charter. It is significant that the first professional school was organized for training practitioners of medicine. It was opened in 1851. In his excellent volume, *Miniatures of Georgetown*, Father Coleman Nevils, S.J., president of the institution from 1928 to 1934, cites the basic reason for establishing professional schools under Catholic auspices: "There is no false teaching in such institutions controlled by the Church. All teachings must be in conformity with the sound principles of Christian ethics. Patrons of Catholic institutions need never fear that unscientific and immoral teaching will be tolerated under their direction."¹⁸ The next venture was the Graduate school, organized in 1855. It is, therefore, the oldest of the graduate units in American Catholic universities.

The Law School of the University, founded in 1870, has a splendid record. Graduates are found in every State and in many foreign countries. They have achieved distinction in State courts as practitioners and judges. This great institution is rightly proud of the distinguished legal career of one of its most eminent sons, the late Chief Justice Edward Douglas White of the United States Supreme Court. It has lived up to the sublime ideals so eloquently enunciated by the late Rev. Thomas I. Gasson, S. J., one-time president of Boston College, in the Golden Jubilee sermon:

Decisions which are not rooted in the eternal principles of justice are not the verdicts which will win the approval of Heaven, but they are shackles forged by unprincipled tyrants, destined to transform inoffensive people into gangs of pirates and bands of rebels. These points of similarity between Religion and the Law distinctly exhibit the sublime dignity of the legal profession and the eminent character which its members are called upon to sustain and no law school is worthy of the name, unless, in union with its lectures upon the various Codes of a country, it impresses constantly upon its students the high rank and the lofty dignity of the jurist.¹⁹

In time dental practitioners made representations to the University calling for recognition of their science. This led to the

¹⁸Nevils, S.J., Coleman. *Miniatures of Georgetown*. Georgetown University Press, 1934, p. 220.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

opening of the Dental School by the University in 1901. The training of nurses was provided for in the school affiliated with Georgetown Hospital, established shortly after the opening of the century. Georgetown enjoys the unique distinction of having the only School of Foreign Service, established in 1919. The great hope of the University officials was that it would promote international peace through education. Its graduates are to be found in almost every country of the world and many hold positions of trust in the American consular service and other government departments. As is true for the other schools of Georgetown, its location in the capital gives it a distinct advantage in securing the services of distinguished professors.

The rôle played by Georgetown in promoting better international relations and better understanding of the Church's contribution to education in America is well beyond measure. Occupants of the White House and great international figures have moved freely through its halls and received merited recognition from the Mother of all American Catholic universities. While we honor its first founder, Archbishop John Carroll by special mention, we must not forget the great achievements of Fathers John Grassi, S.J., Patrick F. Healy, S.J., J. Havens Richards, S.J., Bernard Maguire, S.J., and numerous others who by their fortitude, devotion to scholarship and resourcefulness made Greater Georgetown possible. The institution is rich in historic materials stored in its archives and takes special pride in the ownership of many rare documents dealing with Colonial conditions and the early history of the Church in America. Leaders of science have repeatedly recognized the contributions of staff members in the field of science, particularly in astronomy and seismology. It has played an unique rôle in the foundation and development of other Jesuit institutions of higher learning scattered up and down the Atlantic seaboard. The Church and America are indebted to Georgetown for the high rôle it has taken in building a nation and training an intelligent and influential Catholic laity.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) expressed the hope that a National Catholic University would be established in this country, so as to provide a national center of Catholic culture and an instrument for

spreading the light of Christian truth throughout the world. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) selected the City of Washington as the location of the University, and in 1887 Pope Leo XIII warmly approved the project and empowered the new institution to grant usual degrees conferred by a papal university. The University charter was granted in 1889, so the Golden Jubilee of the institution was celebrated during the current school year (1938-1939). Nine schools cater to the needs of students. These are as follows: College of Arts and Sciences, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Schools of Law, Philosophy, Canon Law, Sacred Sciences, Engineering and Architecture, Social Work, and Nursing. Catholic Sisters College, an affiliated institution, cares for the training of members of the teaching Sisterhoods. Students from any diocese or Religious Order may carry on advanced work in the Schools of Canon Law and the Sacred Sciences. The Church benefits greatly by the instruction thus provided for a select group. The system providing for the affiliation of houses of study controlled by the numerous Religious Orders has been a source of stimulation for the spiritual life of the Church, through opening up fields of special and advanced instruction which would otherwise remain closed because of the limitations of distance, time or lack of funds.²⁰

Because of its location in the City of Washington, as is true in the case of Georgetown, the institution is in a unique position to render service to the Church and the nation. It has trained hundreds of teachers for Catholic colleges, universities, and seminaries. Endowed chairs give its program a continuity and permanence no other Catholic institution enjoys. The fifty graduate scholarships of the Knights of Columbus endowment have made an extremely significant contribution to the growth of Catholic higher education through supplying well-trained lay faculty members for Catholic colleges and universities. Most of the superintendents of Catholic schools have spent from one to three years at the Catholic University of America, following a special curriculum organized to give them the requisite knowledge of their special duties as diocesan leaders of Catholic education. The same holds true for the directors of

²⁰Fox, J. J. "The Catholic University of America," *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Boston, 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 376-398; and University publications.

diocesan charities. The School of Engineering and Architecture has won national recognition through the high character of the work done by its graduates. The institution's teachers enjoy high rank in the academic world because of the scholarly characters of their publications, and their able service on national committees directing educational and social activities. Volumes published by members of the University staff include works on Holy Scripture, dogmatic theology, ecclesiastical history, canon law, sociology, education, American history, and ancient and modern languages. Publications with a national appeal are sponsored, such as the *Catholic Educational Review*, the *Catholic Historical Review*, the *Catholic Charities Review*, and *New Scholasticism*.

The Catholic University is indeed a great center of intellectual coöperation and spiritual power. It draws its strength from the sacrifices made by the members of the Hierarchy in contributing the services of their most talented diocesan priests. It finds its chief support in the generous contributions of members of the Catholic laity to the annual collection taken up in each diocese. Those who were fortunate enough to know the late Bishop Thomas J. Shahan appreciate what an important part his ripe scholarship, vision and patience played in winning support and approval for the University. The exemplary devotion to the interests of the Catholic University displayed by our own late Cardinal Patrick Hayes, during his long and fruitful life of service to the Church, may be taken as indicative of the high devotion characteristic of the Hierarchy during the past half-century. The University in turn has given to the Church many bishops who have distinguished themselves in the service of God and country.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY. The parent institution of St. Louis University was founded three years before Missouri entered the Union, chiefly through the missionary zeal of Bishop William Du Bourg. In 1818, he opened St. Louis Academy which later expanded into St. Louis College. Secular priests served as teachers during the first eight years, from 1819 to 1826. As early as 1814, the Bishop had appealed to the Jesuits in Maryland for help in caring for the spiritual and educational needs of his widely scattered flock. In 1823, the Superior of the Maryland Mission sent a band of eleven Jesuits, of Belgian extraction, who served for the next

five years as teachers in the Indian Seminary in Florissant, a suburb of St. Louis. They took over full control of St. Louis College in 1828. For many years the institution served as a combined grammar and secondary school, the pioneer conditions of the West making it futile to think in terms of the classics or a complete college curriculum. The Visitor of the American houses of the Society sounded a pessimistic note in a letter to the General of the Society, April 25, 1832. He referred to the profound ignorance of Greek and Latin authors displayed by the students; the parental indifference to higher educational standards; the fatality that "has driven Jesuits to avoid the better known cities and take in charge the cultivation of the stubborn soil of small and unimportant places", and the wisdom of allowing "members of the Order to wear out their strength in the management of colleges such as this."²¹ Despite the adverse conditions existing in "the uncongenial environment of the American West," the school flourished; that is, as judged by student enrollment increases and general community support. Its first building was erected on land conveyed to Bishop Du Bourg for educational purposes by a generous Catholic layman, Jeremiah Connor.

In 1832 the institution received its charter as a university. Graduate and professional faculties were founded in rapid succession. The Graduate School was founded in 1832 but it did not function as a separate university unit until its reorganization in 1924, when its administration was entrusted to an autonomous board of graduate studies and a dean. The School of Divinity, established in 1834, discontinued operations for some years but was reestablished in 1899. It was transferred in 1930 to the plant formerly used by St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas.

The Know Nothing movement of the fifties forced the closing of the Medical School, which had been established in 1836; but the University acquired the consolidated Marion-Sims and Beaumont Colleges of Medicine in 1903, and enhanced its prestige a great deal by the erection of a new medical group in 1927 and the two-million dollar Des Loge Hospital in the early thirties. This unit of the University has won national recognition through its special facilities for research in blood chemistry and the outstanding work

²¹McGucken, Wm. J., S.J. *The Jesuits and Education*. Milwaukee, 1932, pp. 82-92.

done in its Theelin Testing laboratory. Its facilities are used by the students of the School of Dentistry, established in 1903 through the affiliation of the St. Louis Dental College. Dental work for all the children in the parochial schools of the city is cared for at cost. Clinics are maintained for indigent patients in the Schools of Medicine and Dentistry.

The School of Philosophy and Science, almost exclusively restricted to members of the Jesuit Order, was established in 1889. The School of Law, first organized in 1842 for a brief existence, was reestablished in 1908. The School of Commerce and Finance was established shortly afterwards, in 1910. To meet the needs of teacher training, the School of Education was organized in 1925. It was merged in 1937 with the School of Social Service, which had been founded in 1930. The new unit is known as the School of Education and Social Sciences. Through a unification of the Schools of Nursing of St. John's and St. Mary's Hospitals, the University School of Nursing was organized in 1928.²²

St. Louis University has rendered great service to the Church in the spread of Christian teachings throughout the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley. Thousands of non-Catholic students trained in the college of liberal arts and the professional schools of the University have served later in life as advocates of tolerance and ambassadors of good will for the Church's program. The early missionaries in their most sanguine moments could not have pictured the feeble institution of their day advancing to such a position of eminence and power. Furthermore, the University has played the chief role in establishing at least ten institutions of higher learning, distributed from Denver to Cleveland and from Milwaukee to Cincinnati. Six are known as universities, namely, Xavier (Cincinnati), Loyola (Chicago), Creighton (Omaha), Detroit (Detroit), Marquette (Milwaukee), and John Carroll (Cleveland). St. Louis has been the Georgetown of the Middle West.²³ To foster the growth of higher institutions of learning seems to be a St. Louis tradition, since the so-called Corporate College Plan was first inaugurated in Catholic circles under the

²²St. Louis University Catalogs.

²³Garraghan, G. J., S.J. "Saint Louis University," *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Boston, 1923, Volume V, pp. 301-312

sponsorship of the University. In 1925, in virtue of a non-legal merger, a group of junior and senior colleges in the St. Louis area became integral parts of the University. Present members of the Corporate Colleges are Fontbonne, Maryville and Webster senior colleges and Sancta Maria in Ripa and St. Mary's junior colleges.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY is to hold a centenary celebration in 1941. Like Georgetown, it owes its existence to a distinguished member of the American Hierarchy, Archbishop John Hughes. For the first five years of its existence, the college was conducted by the diocesan clergy of New York. In June, 1846, it was placed by the then Coadjutor Bishop Hughes under the direction of a band of French Jesuits who came at his invitation from St. Mary's, Kentucky, and purchased the college property. The institution has since remained under Jesuit control. The first Jesuit president of Fordham, Father Augustus Thébaud, S.J., after whom one of the university buildings has been named, was a constructive critic of American education. The new institution prospered under his direction.

The University was empowered from the beginning to confer degrees in theology, law, medicine and arts. Situated in an area that was one day destined to be a great metropolitan center, the presidents of the institution had vision and courage to hold doggedly to their belief that the educational heritage of the Church should be preserved and enriched for her leaders and servants. The belief in the destiny of Fordham was tantamount to a tradition. As has been repeatedly indicated in this paper, mainly to show how comparatively new the university movement is in Catholic circles, Fordham did not until early in the present century, as was true of many of her sister institutions, take advantage of all the privileges accorded under the charter granted by the State of New York.²⁴ The year 1904 saw the first steps in the expansion of St. John's College into a university, since at that time the Board of Trustees authorized the opening of the Schools of Medicine and Law. The first classes in both departments were begun in the fall of 1905. In 1907, an amendment to the Charter of St.

²⁴Tivnan, E. P., S.J. *The Catholic Builders of the Nation*, "The Story of Fordham," Boston, 1923, Volume V, pp. 285-293, and General Catalog of Fordham University.

John's College, Fordham, by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, changed the corporate name to Fordham University.

Here we record one of the failures in the field, from which we may draw the conclusion that there is a limit to sacrifice even for members of the Society of Jesus. Fordham made heroic efforts to keep its medical school open, a task that had become almost superhuman in character because of the lack of an adequate endowment. All efforts to enlist public support having failed, the school was forced to close in 1921. How unfortunate it is that a Catholic medical school is not to be found, up or down the Atlantic seaboard, located nearer the great metropolitan area than the unit maintained by Georgetown! But there is some compensation in the thought that the funds thus released could be diverted into the development of science departments that would soon win national recognition through the high quality of research work carried on by a particularly able staff.

The School of Law, opened in the same year as the medical school, has given the metropolitan area and surrounding states well-trained and representative members of the legal profession. The *Fordham Law Review*, one of the highest ranking publications of its kind, is indicative of the high scholastic standards maintained in this unit of the university, since it is solely the work of a board of student editors chosen on the basis of scholarship.

The College of Pharmacy was organized in 1911 so as to fit students for positions in all branches of this profession. There is a place for cultured pharmacists with high ethical standards. Two of the controversial fields are served by graduates of the School of Social Service and the School of Education founded in 1916. They have supplied a regular quota of trained workers for the social agencies and schools of the Archdiocese of New York and the metropolitan area. The School of Business was founded in 1920 so as to develop leaders with an appreciation of culture and a lively sense of social responsibility.

The capstone of the University structure was put in place in 1917 with the founding of the Graduate School. Housed in a separate building of beautiful proportions, with special provisions for the needs of graduate students, it constitutes a unique departure

in Catholic education. The country has been combed to secure the ablest research workers and teachers so that (1) there may be a steady extension of the offering, (2) that higher standards of scholarship may prevail.

Fordham opened as a college in 1841 with an enrollment of forty students. Today it has a registration of 7,500. It has rendered loyal service to Church and State. Fordham graduates have proved themselves as devotees and champions of the best in Catholic tradition. In literature, in medicine, law, public service, education, and social service her children have done credit to their alma mater.

TRENDS. It is characteristic of Catholic university development in America that the great cities have become the main centres for advanced study. This is in part due to the immigrant character of the Church's constituents, but it may also be attributed to the concentration in the great populous centres of ecclesiastical leaders who performed a double duty, namely, caring for the spiritual needs of Christ's flock and spreading the gospel through active participation in educational enterprises. In recent years, this phenomenon has become even more noticeable, so that today great institutions, such as, De Paul and Loyola in Chicago, and Fordham and St. John's in Greater New York, find it increasingly difficult to care for the great host of students clamoring for an education under Catholic auspices. The registrations of such institutions are quite impressive. For instance, De Paul now cares for 8,445 students, St. John's 7,536, Fordham, 7,469 and Loyola, 5,936.²⁵ In each case we find that the interest of the Ordinary of the jurisdiction in which the institution is located has been an influential factor in insuring such rapid growth. The four institutions in question have been forced to use skyscrapers in the heart of the business district to satisfy the needs of students who work on a split-minute schedule. It is a tribute to the resourcefulness of administrators that scholastic standards have been maintained and that graduates have received the approval of regional standardizing agencies.

The four institutions covered in the historical sketches show that

²⁵For an advance report on 1937-38 statistics, the writer is indebted to Miss Emma Kammerer, Statistical Section of the N. C. W. C. Department of Education.

laymen and ecclesiastical leaders drew on the great reservoirs of faith and deep belief in the value of a Catholic education in founding the institutions that have since blossomed into great universities. All legitimate professional needs have been cared for and high standards of scholarship have been maintained. The high place of liberal education in a well developed program has not been forgotten. The great enrollments in our colleges of liberal arts testify to faithful adherence to the Catholic tradition. The education of the whole student providing for the development of his physical, mental and moral powers, despite the unconscionable pressure exerted by secular educational agencies, has been the constant concern of Catholic educators since the beginnings of Catholic higher education in this country. Despite the high role played by Catholic institutions of higher learning in promoting national welfare, stringent social and economic restrictions have been placed on them during the recurrent waves of bitter anti-Catholic feeling that have swept the country since the founding of the Republic. Economic considerations have dictated occasional retrenchment, and at times ultimate abandonment of critical ventures in professional education.

The development of greater facilities has kept pace with the growing recognition accorded Catholics in all walks of life. Not until the opening of the century did the university movement gain full momentum, six of the fourteen universities singled out for special treatment securing university charters since 1906. It is true that the professional schools that have been established are largely those which do not call for great expenditures. Some sections of the country and some professions are poorly served. Lack of adequate endowment has been the chief reason for restricting the sphere of service. The future of Catholic higher education in this country must have seemed quite unpropitious during some of the critical periods in the histories of the four institutions presented, and, no doubt, present leaders may at times feel overwhelmed by the wide disparity that exists between the degree of achievement hoped for and the amount of progress finally recorded. The same insistent demands that gave rise to the rapid spread of the university movement with the opening of the century are with us today in more troublesome form, since the need for Catholic

penetration of the civic, social, economic and cultural life of the nation was never greater; but the high tide of secularism, the diminution of gifts to higher institutions of learning, and the growing burden of taxation militate against the expansion of the Church's program in old and new fields of service. Even casual consideration of the special demands of the age, extension of professional education at the graduate level, enrichment of graduate programs in the sciences and in the controversial fields, larger appropriations for libraries, laboratories and buildings, and the creation of adequate endowments—lends special emphasis to the critical status of Catholic higher education at the moment. The Church has made every dollar do the work of ten in developing professional and graduate programs. The record is worth examining.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS. Our account will cover the number and variety of professional schools and the nature of their development. We have stated elsewhere that university programs on a large scale were not inaugurated until the opening of the century. This is especially true of the professional education program. Osteopathy and agriculture are about the only professional subjects in which instruction cannot be secured in a Catholic university. The list is impressive, including law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, nursing, engineering, architecture, commerce and finance, foreign service, music, speech, laboratory technology, social service, music, speech, laboratory technology, social service, journalism, and physical education.

Of the professional schools controlled by the Church at present, 17 are schools of law; 15, business or commerce and finance; 9, nursing; 8, engineering; 7, dentistry; 6, education; 5, medicine and pharmacy; 3, social work or social service; 2, drama, music and journalism. They have afforded the Church many new opportunities for service, but the drain on resources is indeed great for it is seldom that a professional school pays its way. Nevertheless, in this age of radical theories and disbelief, it is increasingly necessary that the Church should train as many as possible in the sound ethical principles that have their foundation in the natural law. This is practically an obligation in so far as business, medicine, social service, education, nursing and law falling under her benign

influence would tend to promote social reconstruction and promulgate Christian teachings bearing on professional problems.

In nine universities for which current statistics are available the professional students account for forty-three per cent of the total enrollment. The high cost of instruction is evident when we consider the implications of a statement that there are three times as many lay as Religious teachers on the staffs of the universities registering these students. Over thirty-three per cent of the professional schools have been established by or brought under the control of Catholic universities since 1920, and ninety per cent since 1900. This represents expansion of a high order at a great cost.

GRADUATE STUDIES. There are over 5,000 students in the graduate schools of Catholic universities. In 1931, in eleven of the fourteen universities under review there were 3,290 students enrolled.²⁶ By 1938, the number had increased to 4,112, representing an increase of twenty per cent in seven years. Many of these schools were not organized until after 1915, so the representative total now recorded may be viewed as a genuine achievement. A particularly encouraging feature is that the enrollment accounts for eight per cent of the gross enrollments of these selected institutions, as compared with four per cent for all Catholic institutions of higher learning. Centralization of graduate instruction has many advantages. Fordham had the largest graduate school with 768 registered in 1938. St. Louis came second with 603. Detroit, Loyola, De Paul and Marquette followed with registrations of 528, 499, 430, and 347. The remaining schools reported 200 or fewer students.

The universities with graduate schools show in their reports on libraries, endowment and annual expenditures the costly character of advanced or professional instruction. For the fourteen universities the total invested in buildings, grounds and equipment is \$76,000,000, as against \$73,000,000 for seventy-two colleges for men and women. The endowment of the universities is \$17,000,000 as compared with \$23,000,000 for the colleges. Library holdings for the universities range from 23,000 to 350,000; for the colleges,

²⁶"Report of the Committee on Graduate Studies", *National Catholic Educational Association Proceedings*, 1936, p. 114.

from 7,000 to 51,000. The annual expenditures of the colleges total \$10,600,000, for the universities, \$12,000,000. The number of periodical subscriptions for the libraries of certain universities is as follows in descending order: 1060, 480, 330, 312, 225, 153.

The most significant development in the university field during the past fifteen years has been the marked increase in the number of centres for graduate instruction. Higher teacher-training standards, an increasing body of organized knowledge, the intense and widespread devotion to research, and advanced instruction in professional subjects and the clinical sciences have been largely responsible for this new phase of university activity. It has not been altogether an effort to increase the number of units offering programs for higher degrees, for the qualitative element has received merited recognition. The promotion of scholarship and graduate excellence have been vital concerns. There is an increasing emphasis on the importance of developing Catholic scholarship, stimulating the spirit of research, fostering literary activity, and creating additional opportunities for the intellectually capable but socially less favored student. The shift of emphasis to a consideration of intrinsic phases of graduate study is quite encouraging.

Again, there are numerous instances of reorganization and extension during the past decade, such as, decrease in the number of graduate degrees because of the development of a consciousness of their scholastic significance, appointment of full time deans, re-emphasis of the research requirement, appointment of more full time professors, increasing appreciation of the differentiation between undergraduate and graduate courses, increases in the number of courses open to graduate students, and better distribution of teaching loads.²⁷ Despite this impressive showing, however, there are indications that the resources of any of our universities are not so great as they should be to permit them to provide as much and as high a quality of specialized training as is required. For instance, only six of the fourteen universities are approved by the Association of American Universities. Some of our professional schools are not listed by their accrediting agencies. The great hope for the future is that every effort will be made to guarantee our

²⁷Crowley, F. M., "Catholic Graduate Schools", *America*, May 21, 1932, pp. 163-64.

graduates that the diplomas and degrees we give them will be recognized as valid educational currency.

IV

Two problems vexing Catholic college officials today are inadequate endowment and the shortage of lay teaching personnel. There are thirty per cent more lay than Religious instructors employed in Catholic universities and colleges for men. While it is true that most of the laymen are employed in professional schools, the college authorities have been forced to employ the lay teacher more and more of late in the liberal arts colleges, since vocations to the Religious life have not kept pace with the phenomenal increase in student enrollment. It is almost impossible for Catholic institutions of higher learning, with the inadequate resources at their disposal, to offer attractive salaries to laymen of marked ability. One institution has established a special endowment fund to care for lay professors' salaries. A substantial part of the fund was contributed by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.²⁸

Lay teachers with advanced degrees are scarce in the controversial fields, such as, economics, education, sociology and psychology. The chief difficulty is in securing men who know the mind of the Church and are able to integrate the principles of their specialty with the fundamental theses of the *philosophia perennis*. The shortage is in part due to the lack of interest in the learned professions displayed by talented young Catholics, but the dearth of fellowships providing opportunities for advanced instruction also constitutes a serious handicap. The yeoman service such trainees may render the Church in the impending struggle with the forces of darkness, since their pronouncements will carry the weight of academic authority, moves us to assert that the investment of millions in their training would be repaid a thousandfold. Elsewhere we have said that the Catholic Church needs the Catholic university; in the same sense we assert that the Catholic university needs the Catholic layman.

The endowment funds of the eighty-six Catholic colleges and uni-

²⁸University of Notre Dame.

versities reporting in 1935 total \$40,338,416. This is \$8,000,000 more than the endowment of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and \$15,000,000 less than the endowment of the University of Rochester. The endowment funds of five of the largest universities in America, namely, Yale, University of Chicago, Harvard, Johns Hopkins and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, total \$345,782,787. The paucity of endowment funds in our higher institutions of learning is quite evident.²⁹

It is generally conceded that adequate provision for the endowment of any college can only be made when there is a fund of from \$2,500 to \$5,000 available for each student enrolled. If we consider students enrolled in colleges of arts and sciences alone, of which there were 58,942 in 1936, we find that the present endowment funds are not sufficient to care for the needs of our Catholic institutions, since the amount required would be approximately \$221,000,000. The sum of \$40,000,000 in endowments which our colleges and universities now control is evidently so totally inadequate that comment is unnecessary. While most of the standardizing agencies have granted Catholic colleges the right to include in their statement of resources an allowance for "an endowment of consecrated lives," even this concession, allowing \$40,000 for each of the 750 Sisters and \$50,000 for each of the 1,200 priests and Brothers employed in colleges and universities, gives a total endowment of only \$224,000,000 just enough for the colleges of arts and sciences. And the most discouraging part of the shortage of funds is that we have not taken into account the needs of the professional schools, such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and engineering, where ample endowments are increasingly necessary for efficient work and assured professional standing. In addition, teachers must be replaced, the "endowment of consecrated lives" is constantly being sapped by old age and the thousand and one ills human flesh is heir to; it is being reduced by factors which would not affect properly invested funds. Moreover, the increase in the number of vocations cannot, or will not, for some years to come

²⁹See *American Colleges and Universities*, 1936, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., for data on endowments; and *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 1936, N. C. W. C. Department of Education, Washington, D. C., for data on enrollments.

keep pace with the increase in student enrollment. This lack of adequate endowment is the chief problem of our Catholic colleges and universities today. Its proper solution rests with the Catholic laity. Wealthy Catholics have paid little attention to the appeals of college and university administrative officials, so it would seem that the great hope of these institutions lies in a more generous support by their alumni and those Catholics somewhat blessed with the goods of this world. The sorely needed aid must come from those who see that the Church in America will progress in her militant campaign to win the souls of men in direct proportion to the generosity of her children in supporting her training schools for Religious and lay leaders—Catholic colleges and universities.

The greatest marvel is the tremendous strides that have been made in establishing a tradition of Catholic scholarship. No group has faced more oppressive religious disabilities, nor has any group had to depend so much on non-English speaking communities to carry its instructional program through the early days of organization, for we must not forget that a university education was forbidden to English and Irish Catholics for centuries. Again, think for a moment of how the best talents are offered up in the persons of those who enter the priesthood. Any other body could not stand such a steady drain. It is a tribute to God's mercy that we have succeeded so well. So, conscious of the intellectual achievements of the Church in past ages, we are pushing on into new territory to win additional laurels for our common Mother. More concerned hourly over the masked but deliberate intent of educational leaders to exclude religion from the educational process, we are marshalling our resources to protect our charges from the onslaughts of those who claim: "Today God, in the old sense at least, has retired from the scene, and the human race, arrived at apparent physical maturity, faces the vast implications of the future without the assurance of transcendental grace and beneficence."³⁰

³⁰Crowley, F. M., "The Year in Education", *America*, January 4, 1936, p. 301.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

At the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held at the Centre Club, New York, May 3, 1938, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

Honorary President, His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes, D.D.; president, Percy J. King; vice president, Frederick J. Fuller; treasurer, Charles H. Ridder; recording secretary, Dr. Arthur F. J. Rémy; corresponding secretary, Dr. Leo R. Ryan; executive secretary, E. P. Herbermann.

Trustees: Thomas F. Meehan, William T. Walsh, the Rev. F. X. Talbot, S.J.; the Rev. Dr. P. J. Furlong, Dennis C. Fauss, the Right Rev. Monsignor Arthur J. Scanlan, William J. Amend.

Councillors: Arthur Kenedy, Joseph H. McGuire, Joseph C. Driscoll, Michael J. Madigan, John J. Falahee.

In his report President Percy J. King, K.S.G., said the year had been most satisfactory. He paid tribute to two recently deceased officials of the Society, John W. Kehoe and the Rev. Dr. John E. Wickham, whose interest and cooperation in the work of the Society he praised highly.

From the treasurer, Charles H. Ridder, the members had the assurance that financially, the Society was in its usual solvent condition with its budget properly balanced. He hoped that, although this was a most favorable outlook, it might be further enhanced by generous contributions from those who saw the desirability of such progress and had the incentive to thus open up new sources of activity in the work of the society.

Dr. Leo R. Ryan from the membership committee reported that the drive for additions which began at the close of the last year had had much success. This was so, especially among educational institutions and librarians who were appreciative of the immense value for students of the source material to be found in the publications of the Society.

Dr. William T. Walsh, one of the Trustees, was commended for his *Philip II*, a volume in which Dr. Walsh has vindicated the much maligned character of Philip II and present a Philip of reality, a man of his age who used his immense power to preserve what

he felt were the eternal verities. One of the most turbulent periods of history centered around the monarch, and stories of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth, the Inquisition, William of Orange, the Armada are told with historical accuracy. It was announced at the meeting that translations of the volume are to be published in Spain and Germany.

The Rev. Dr. T. J. McMahon, professor of Church history at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, told the meeting that the section of the seminary library containing the published volumes of the Society was in constant use by seminarians engaged in Catholic historical research.

TALES OF OLD NEW YORK

By THOMAS F. MEEHAN

MOTHER SETON'S RESIDENCES

IN THE life story of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, foundress of the American Sisters of Charity, best told in the two volumes compiled by her grandson, Archbishop Robert Seton, and published by him with the title, *Memoir, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton* (New York, 1869) there are seven places in New York mentioned as having been her residences and from these volumes I have taken the details that follow. The buildings have all been wiped out in the structural changes of the years except one, No. 8 State street, and, since October 4, 1883, it adjoins the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary for the Protection of Irish Immigrant Girls, then founded by Charlotte O'Brien, daughter of the Irish Nationalist leader of 1848, William Smith O'Brien, and in her last years a zealous convert to the Faith, like Mother Seton. The building is practically the same as when the Setons lived there. In 1806 the plot at the east side of the Seton residence was taken by a sea-captain, Moses Rogers, who built on it the fine residence (No. 7) which is now used as the Holy Rosary Mission for Immigrant Girls. Captain Rogers was in command of the 350 ton Steamship *Savannah* that, on May 24, 1819, started from Savannah, Georgia, for Liverpool, the first steam vessel to cross the Atlantic. The voyage took twenty-six days. The ship had sails, and auxiliary gears with side wheels.

During the Civil War his State Street house was taken by the Federal Government for military purposes. After the war, it was acquired by the Board of Pilot Commissioners of New York, who used it for some time as their offices. In time's odd changes it was during this period the old Seton home, No. 8 State Street became the Lutheran Home for German Immigrant Girls. The wooden awning over the front and entrance has disappeared, but otherwise the building is as well preserved as when Mother Seton found it so attractive. A picture made of State Street in 1859 shows a sign "Bay House" on the front of No. 8 indicating that then it was a small hotel.

The Seton family Bible has this entry: "William Magee Seton, on 25th Jan. 1794, by Rev. Bishop Provost, in John street to E. A. Bayley, aged nineteen years and five months, daughter of Richard Bayley, M.D., of New York." The young couple went to live with William Seton, Sr., an importer and merchant, who resided at No. 65 Stone street, which was also his place of business, as was the custom of that time. Dr. Bayley was then the Health officer and Quarantine Commissioner at Staten Island, and the bride, his daughter, spent the summer months at his pleasant residence there. In the fall they went to live in the State street house, which as the scene of the first years of her married life and the birthplace of her children seems to have been her favorite of all her New York homes. Writing to her friend, Mrs. Sadler (who lived in Cortlandt street, and was then in Europe), on June 18, 1797, Mother Seton says of it: "The mild, peaceful flow of the river before our dwelling inspires me with ideas of you, and increases the melancholy regret which thoughts of absent friends call up. You may probably recollect a house of Mrs. Livingston's, on East River, facing Governors Island. Here I spend the summer." It is one of the most historic localities on Manhattan Island. Around the corner is the site of the place where the first known Mass was said and where St. Isaac Jogues and his fellow Jesuit missionary Father Bressani lived during their brief visits to Old New York. And old Castle Garden, the entrance gate for so many thousands of Catholic immigrants to the New World is within sight on the other side to the west.

When William Seton's health failed in October 1803, and they went to Italy, where he died, his brother, James Seton, took over the State street house. James Seton was what now would be called an auction and commission merchant, the firm being Hoffman and Seton at 67 Wall street. He had a country residence "Wilderness," at what is now about West Forty-third street and Eleventh avenue, "five miles from town."

Mother Seton, at times, stayed there and at 67 Wall street. In the old days the State licensed these auction merchants, and they paid, for the benefit of the canal fund, a sales tax on their transactions. In 1830 there were fifty-nine of these auctioneers in New York and they paid \$217,043 that year as sales taxes into the canal

fund. (Walter Barrett, *Old Merchants of New York City*, Vol. I, New York, 1862.)

In 1796 Mrs. Seton spent the summer at an unnamed place on Long Island. "I cannot spell the place," she wrote to Mrs. Sadler; "that is past my art; but it is one of the pleasantest ones and best calculated for real retirement of any I ever met with. . . . I never before enjoyed the pleasures of the country so perfectly." She went to Long Island again in 1799. In the previous year a yellow fever outbreak drove them from the city to William Seton's country place at Bloomingdale, now West Seventy-eighth street and North River, whence they went back to Stone street in November.

Misfortunes began to cumulate for Mother Seton in 1801. Her father died on August 17 that year, a victim to his zeal for the welfare of the unfortunate typhus stricken Irish immigrants then unloaded from a fleet of ships at the Staten Island Quarantine Station. Her husband's business failed, his health collapsed and in hope of recuperation they sailed for Italy in October 1803. When she and the children returned to New York in June, 1804, after his death, they were penniless and were dependent on the generosity of her Italian friends, the Filicchi brothers, and some of her New York relatives and friends who still remained faithful to her. Without indicating the exact location, she wrote, July 15, 1804, to her friend Mrs. Julia Scott, "I live in a small neat house, about half a mile from town, and spend much less than my friends imagine, and delight in the opportunity of bringing up my children without those pretensions and indulgences that ruin so many."

Again, on April 15, 1805, she wrote to Antonio Filicchi: "I have taken part of a very neat house, about half way to town, near Greenwich street, for fifty pounds. The one I am in is eighty; thirty pounds will buy winter clothes, and, what is best of all, I shall be able to go every morning before breakfast to visit my Master." She had made the acquaintance, she added, of Andrew Morris, the most important member of St. Peter's congregation. "He has offered me with my children seats in his pew in church." "Town" then ended about Chambers street.

When it was known that she intended to become a Catholic she had to endure the bitterest persecution on the part of her relatives and former friends, which even increased after her formal reception

into the Church in March 1805. How to support herself and her children then became an acute problem. She thought of starting a school for girls, but this plan was abandoned for another which made her an assistant in a school opened by an English Catholic named White and his wife. The prejudice of the local bigots, however, was too strong and it lasted only three months. After a short stay in the country home of her relatives, the Posts, another venture was tried, in which she took as boarders the pupils of a school managed by an assistant at St. Mark's church named Harris.

"Stuyvesant's Lane, Bowery, near St. Mark's church, two white houses joined, left hand; children the sign of the dwelling: no number," she described its location to Mrs. Julia Scott, November 29, 1807. This project also failed in a short time.

The Filicchis had sent her two sons, William and Richard, to Georgetown College so she now thought of trying to find a convent in Canada where her three daughters would be taken and she herself allowed to live and teach in return for their tuition. Bishop Carroll, and her other clerical advisers, opposed this and persuaded her to go to Baltimore and open there a much needed school for girls. This she did, in June 1808, and there, in a house in Paca street, near St. Mary's Seminary, began the little school that later evolved into the convent at Emmitsburg and the founding of the American Institute of the Sisters of Charity who were known at first as the Sisters of St. Joseph at Mrs. Seton's special request.

William and Richard, Mother Seton's sons, continued as students at St. Mary's College, Baltimore. In 1815, when William was nineteen, his mother arranged that he should go to Italy and begin a business career with her old friends the Filicchis. He remained there two years and then returned home and entered the United States Navy as a midshipman. His place with the Filicchis, in Italy, was taken by his brother, Richard. William attained captain's rank in the Navy and then resigned to lead a life of ease at a splendid residence he had at Williamsbridge, New York. He married Emily Prime, daughter of Nathaniel Prime, in that era one of the wealthiest bankers in New York. William Seton, Jr., lawyer, officer in the Civil War, author, who died March 15, 1905; and Archbishop Robert Seton, died March 22, 1927, were his sons. In his memoirs Archbishop Seton, relates how his father often drove

over to Fordham and stopped at Edgar Allan Poe's cottage and had long talks with the poet who was very glad to have so congenial a visitor as there was no one in the neighborhood, except the Jesuit Fathers at the College, with whom he could find companionship.

In April, 1913, there appeared in a New York paper this advertisement:

**A Great Opportunity for a
Convent, School, or Religious Community
To Buy a Home in New York
Seton Mansion**

located in Williamsbridge, Bronx, N. Y., occupying 16 city lots 25x100 feet each, appraised at \$35,000 by three experts. This house was the country home of Archbishop Seton's father. It is ideally suited for a convent or religious community.

The main building is 45x70 feet on the first floor; the two other floors are 45x45 feet. Large basement of six rooms, stone walls and brick filled. The extension is 18x22 feet, two stories. The out-buildings, 50x22 feet; 1½ story, with kitchen and bathrooms. Stable and chicken house, 32x14 feet.

The dining-rooms accommodate 200 guests; 17 bedrooms, 3 bath rooms, 2 kitchens, laundry and baker's oven.

This property adjoins the Seton Falls Park of 33 acres, and is, without exception, one of the most beautiful and most healthful spots for an ideal country home than can be found in Greater New York. A visit to the Seton Falls will convince you of its many charms and natural advantages.

The building stands on the fine high land, 200 feet higher than the Pelham Bay Sound; commands a beautiful scenery and is surrounded by large trees. It fronts on 233d Street, and is two blocks from the Boston Post Road.

Price, \$30,000. The property must be sold in one parcel without any division.

On June 10, 1914, the property was taken over by New York City for \$74,000 as the site for a hospital, but because of local objection, this project was abandoned and it was turned over to the Park Department to be added to Seton Park, which is now bounded by Seton and Pratt avenues and 233rd Street. Recently \$300,000 of W. P. A. park funds was allotted for its development and the Seton tradition of the locality thus will be preserved. William Seton and his son are buried in the convent cemetery at Emmits-

burg, with the other members of the family in a plot adjoining Mother Seton's tomb. She died in 1821.

Richard Seton remained in Italy for some time and then went to Liberia as assistant United States Agent, at Monrovia, the capital of the Black Republic. The American Colonization Society, founded by Charles Carroll and other Maryland Catholics, to help free Negroes, a pressing social issue of the time, sent the first colony to Liberia in February 1820, and it was through the influence of the Carrolls and Harpers that Richard Seton got this agent office. He died June 26, 1823, on board a ship voyaging from Cape Mesurado to St. Jago. The United States agent wrote of him to his aunt: "His open, undisguised character, the simplicity of his manners and the native kindness of his heart, had won perhaps further on the affections of our black people than any other agent had ever done in so short a time. I have heard from them no other objection to Mr. Seton but that he was a white man; the only fault which with some of them unfortunately is held unpardonable."

In the interracial agitation of today it is of interest to note this incident. Mother Seton made the instruction and welfare care of the Emmitsburg colored people one of the first of the social activities undertaken by the Sisters of her new Community. Her maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Charlton, of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Staten Island, organized the first society in New York to care for colored people.

Catharine, Mother Seton's second daughter, did not follow the example of her sisters in joining the Emmitsburg community. She became a Sister of Mercy in New York, and was ninety-one years old, when she died here, April 3, 1891, having served a long term as assistant to the Superior of the New York Community during which she spent a number of years doing welfare work in visiting the city prisons and charity institutions. Her niece, William Seton's daughter Helen, an accomplished musician and linguist, also became a member of this Community of the Sisters of Mercy.

II

A ONCE FAMOUS SCHOOL

In the first years of the last century the French colony in New York was notable in numbers and for the generally fine quality

of its members. It was largely composed of exiles from the West Indies, driven hence by the Negro revolution there, many impoverished by its incidents, others retaining some of their wealth. France sent remnants from the armies of the Continental struggle; fugitives from the great upset that dethroned the Bourbons, and from the changes of the Napoleonic era. Among the latter was General Jean Victor Moreau, who had been a commander in the army that ended the Bourbon rule and then in that of Napoleon, with whom he later quarreled and was exiled here in 1804. Another was one of his special friends, Jean Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, who soon followed him to New York. Moreau lived at 119 Pearl street, where socially he entertained lavishly. One of his children died during his residence here and is buried in the cemetery of Old St. Patrick's Cathedral. De Neuville lived at 61 Dey street. These two, with J. B. Lombart, chancellor of the French Consulate; the famous Bishop Cheverus, of Boston, and Henry Cruger, a wealthy merchant, feeling that a school was necessary for the children of the French colony, started l'Ecole Economique in Chapel street (West Broadway), between Duane and Meade streets. It was later moved to Anthony (now Worth) street.

Tuition fees were charged, but any deserving pupil who could not pay was taken care of. The best teachers available were employed and even text-books for the classes were compiled and specially published for the school by the printer Joseph Denoues, at 59 Church street. Denoues also published a number of Catholic books, and was the printer, in 1812, for the *Military Monitor*, a weekly paper started and edited by Thomas O'Connor, father of the jurist, Charles O'Connor. Moreau and De Neuville visited the school every day and lectured for the pupils. The Czar Alexander I. persuaded Moreau to return to Europe in 1814 and join the allies in their war against Napoleon, and he died August 27, 1815, from wounds received at the battle of Dresden. De Neuville also went back to France when the Bourbons were returned to the throne. In 1816 he was sent as Minister to Washington and held that office till 1821. Recalled to France, he was active in public affairs till his death, May 28, 1857. His wife was a clever artist and sketches she made of the New York of that day are now most valuable historical relics.

On the withdrawal of these founders the school was managed by a board of directors, consisting of DeWitt Clinton, president; J. B. Lombart, vice-president; Charles Wilkes, treasurer; G. H. De Neuville, secretary; Clement C. Moore (of "Night Before Christmas" fame); Dr. William James MacNeven (the Irish patriot), Louis La Rue (a wealthy merchant), Dr. Cognacq and Dr. Evrard. It waned, however, in public favor and then was taken over and incorporated with the school of Victor Bancel, a very able and enterprising exile from the West Indies, who moved his establishment to the premises it occupied in Anthony street, a large building with two wings and a steeple with a bell in it. There was a spacious garden around it. Writing a letter to her uncle, Pierre Toussaint, on August 3, 1827, his little niece says: "When we were at Mrs. Bancel's on Sunday we went halfway through the garden; how beautiful it is, and we saw that little Chapel—Mr. Malou (Father Malou, pastor of St. Peter's, Barclay street) was then there." By marriage the Bancels were forbears of the La Farge, Binsse and the Schuyler-Warren families of our own day. Mr. Bancel's sister married M. Binsse de St. Victor, and their daughter married John F. La Farge, grandfather of the distinguished present day members of the family.

These notes about l'Ecole Economique are largely taken from that abundant source of local historical information, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (Vol. I), by Walter Barrett. In the horse and buggy days the daily papers did not print any edition on Sundays. To fill this gap there were several weekly papers specially printed for Sunday consumption. These were: The *Leader* (politics and general news), the *Sunday Mercury* (sports and court news), *Noah's Sunday Times and Messenger* (news and literature), and the *Day Book* (all sorts). The *Leader* was owned by John Clancy, then a dominating figure in the Democratic party, and to it, in 1860, Walter Barrett began to contribute what now we would call a "Column" devoted to local historical stories about prominent people and the events and incidents of their careers in the evolution of New York's commercial prosperity. It was most successful and so long in popularity that the series were collected and published in three volumes in 1862. Next to Philip Hone's famous *Diary* it is

the most interesting and useful record we have of old New York. With the Civil War times came extra demands for up-to-the-minute news. The Sunday editions of the dailies began to be published and the old-fashioned weeklies gradually faded away.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Just as the year 1937 was closing the Rev. A. M. Albareda, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, wrote to the Executive Secretary of the United States Catholic Historical Society to say he had found that through some accident ten volumes of the publications of the Society, which are all carefully shelved in the United States Section of the Vatican Library were missing from the complete set. He asked the Society to send him the missing volumes.

Unfortunately, the Society had none of the desired volumes on hand so an appeal was made to the members to donate them and thus make the Vatican set once more complete. This request was published in the *Catholic News* and thanks to its ever generous cooperation in the work of the Historical Society, the desired result followed and Charles H. Ridder, the treasurer of the Society, forwarded to Rome the volumes most willingly and immediately given to the Vatican Library by the following members of the Historical Society:

Mrs. Thomas S. O'Brien, Dennis C. Fauss, Michael J. Madigan, Timothy J. Reardon, Charles H. Ridder and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Hauser, Bronxville, New York; the Rev. John J. O'Brien, Yonkers, New York; J. Leonard Lyons, Bridgeport, Connecticut, and the Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C. The volumes sent in were Nos. III., IV., V., XI., XII., XIV., XV., XVIII., XIX., XX., of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES. After this list was completed additional offers were received from Sister Natalena, the Librarian of St. Angela Hall, Brooklyn, and from Louis P. Chute, of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The Society returns formal thanks to these members for their generous response to the request from the Prefect of the Vatican Library, and he wrote the Editor of the Society's publications the following, which is a translation of the original Italian script:

Vatican City,
July 29, 1938.

The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York,
Thomas F. Meehan, Editor of the Society's publications:

The Apostolic Vatican Library in my name wishes to express

to you sir, with greatest sentiments of gratitude, our best and heartfelt thanks for the devoted and eager cooperation with which you have wished to favor it by your search for the volumes missing here. Today, when we can admire in its completeness our beautiful collection, we cannot, nor will we ever forget the willing work of you Illustrious Sir, to whom we despatch cordial acknowledgment. We have in view feelings of gratitude with which to turn without distinction to all the generous donors who were so responsive to our request, and, for those who have honored us with their revered names by an inclosed card in the volume offered, we send our special certificate of thanks separately. I enclose them in the present letter and I ask you to send them to their destination.

With reverent feeling and deep regard I deign to sign myself,

Devotedly always,

A. M. ALBAREDA, MC.

(Prefect)

In this connection, it may be recalled that, when the Society reproduced in facsimile America's oldest extant printed book, *Doctrina Breve*, published by Bishop Zumárraga in Mexico, in 1544, a beautifully and specially bound copy was sent to the Vatican Library. It was presented to the Holy Father, at a private audience he gave three representatives of the United States Catholic Historical Society, its Executive Secretary, Miss E. P. Hebermann, her sister, Miss M. Louise Hebermann (daughters of Dr. Charles G. Hebermann, founder of the reorganized Society and for so many years its president), and Miss C. Cornelia Craigie. The Holy Father was most gracious in his reception of them and of the book. There is no surer passport to his favor and interest than a good book, so in a lengthy audience he examined the reproduction of the *Doctrina Breve*, minutely, praised its format and typography and the work of the Society, for the details of which he inquired eagerly.

The facsimile reproduction of *Doctrina Breve*, also had commendation and use in the current public discussion of affairs in Spain. The Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning lecturing at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina—the first time a priest has had that opportunity—made our edition of *Doctrina Breve*, the text of his claim of the indebtedness of America to Spanish inspiration in

the sphere of art, literature and social reconstruction. On his return to New York two weeks later Dr. Thorning had a long interview with Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the *New York Times* along the same line, and following it a copy of *Doctrina Breve* was sent to Mr. Sulzberger and placed by him, with courteous acknowledgment, in the *Times* Museum of the Recorded Word which had just been opened to the public.

The Academy of Spanish-American Archives in Berlin asked for a copy of *Doctrina Breve* which was sent as requested. The April 1938 *Quarterly Review* of this institution, one of the most noted in Germany, had a twenty page article on the first American printers in which due credit is given our Society for the facsimile reproduction of *Doctrina Breve* and the title page of the volume was used as an illustration.

It is of interest to note that orders have been received by the Society from the British Museum, London, and the Academy of Science, Moscow, Russia, for copies of the Society's Monograph volume, *The Quebec Act: A Primary Cause of the American Revolution*, by the Rev. Charles H. Metzger, S.J., which may be taken as further evidence of the international appreciation of the work of the Society.

A HALF CENTURY'S PROGRESS

Among the recommendations made by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which ended its sessions on December 7, 1884, was the promotion of the preservation and study of the details and facts of our Catholic American history. In accordance with this a meeting of a number of Catholic men was held in New York, on December 9, at which the then Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, presided. The outcome was the organization, a week later, of the United States Catholic Historical Society, with Richard H. Clarke as its president. Its stated purpose included not only the collection of material bearing on the history of the Church in the United States to make up a great Catholic reference library, but with it, a building that would serve as a repository for these records.

This, as Dr. Hebermann later said in writing of the Society's history, was a mistaken policy of exaggerated pretensions. A quarterly magazine was started in January 1887, which lasted for four years, following two years of inactivity after the organization of the Society. Although a number of important and interesting articles were contributed to its pages by notable writers, the Society became practically moribund until 1897, when, through the instrumentality of Archbishop Corrigan, it was revived and Dr. Charles H. Herbermann was elected president.

Under his direction, the publication of the quarterly magazine ceased but, in its place, a formal volume of historical papers with the title CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES was begun. The first volume, 425 pages, was published in January 1899, and was made up in two parts. Since then the Society has published twenty-eight volumes of RECORDS AND STUDIES and seventeen of the MONOGRAPH SERIES, making with the issues of the original quarterly, the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, seventy-one printed volumes averaging about 250 pages each and containing some 300 historical articles. Of these publication 30,000 copies have been distributed to the members and the public.

A DELAYED TRIBUTE

Using the pen name "R. C. Gleaner", the Reverend Lawrence W. Mulhane, pastor of the church of St. Vincent de Paul, Mt. Vernon, Ohio, was a prolific and versatile writer on historical topics during the first years of the current century. He died, on June 30, 1925 and is hardly remembered today by the public he so often interested and entertained with his pen.

A delayed tribute to his memory may now be paid in these notes from the obituary printed in the *Catholic Columbian* of Columbus, Ohio, for May 8, 1925.

It relates that Father Mulhane was born on February 21, 1856, in a little town in Massachusetts, the son of Dennis and Mary Mulhane. When he was but a boy his parents moved to Ohio locating in Marietta where the family home was maintained.

He attended the common schools until he was twelve years of age, then entered the Marietta Academy where he prepared for Marietta College, which he entered at the age of fourteen

In September, 1872, on invitation of Bishop Rosecrans, he entered St. Aloysius Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, and remained for four years. In 1876, he became a member of Bishop Rosecrans' household and began private study to prepare for the Propaganda College at Rome. The death of Bishop Rosecrans changed his plans and, not being of proper age to enter the priesthood he remained at the episcopal house in the meantime writing for the *Catholic Columbian* until November 7, 1879, when he was ordained to the priesthood and assigned to duty as assistant at St. Joseph's Cathedral.

The following year when Bishop Watterson was appointed Bishop of Columbus, Father Mulhane was chosen by him as secretary and Chancellor of the Diocese. He held this office five years and on October 1, 1885, he was appointed to take charge of St. Vincent de Paul's parish at Mt. Vernon. During nearly forty years as pastor here his labors were crowned with great success in every way, and because of this and of his genial, obliging, unselfish and unassuming disposition he was revered by a wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

Father Mulhane remained a student all his life and as a speaker was logical, earnest, forceful, frequently truly eloquent, his powers of oratory being of a very high order. He also was a writer, versatile, convincing and pleasing, always fearless in advocating what he believed to be right. He was a frequent contributor to Catholic and other periodicals and for many years wrote for the *Catholic Columbian* under the name of "R. C. Gleaner." His writings were quoted in many newspapers and magazines.

For many years he made a study of leprosy and the work of the Church in behalf of those afflicted with the dread scourge. In 1886, he published a book on the subject which attracted much interest. He labored earnestly to induce Congress to establish a national home for lepers and in January, 1900, visited Cuba making a special study of leprosy. The result of his investigation was given in an article in *Donahoe's Magazine*. He also wrote a life of General Rosecrans, the Union leader in the Civil War, and a memoir of

Frank Hurd, a native of Mt. Vernon and a distinguished Ohio statesman.

For some time he conducted a daily column in the *Banner* of Mt. Vernon, writing under the name of "Peri Philos." His witticisms from this column were reproduced in many Ohio newspapers.

GENERAL MEETING OF NOVEMBER 16, 1938

By T. J. REARDON

For the fifty-fourth annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held on the evening of November 16, 1938, a brilliant and representative audience filled the grand ball-room of the Centre Club, New York. The Most Rev. Stephen J. Donahue, Auxiliary and Administrator of New York, presided as honorary chairman and President Percy J. King, K.S.G., carried on the formal program of the evening. In opening the proceedings Mr. King said:

"Your Excellency, members and guests;

"To-night we hold the Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, which was founded in 1884. We welcome you here and thank Bishop Donahue for his gracious consent to preside as our Honorary Chairman. One familiar figure, which you have so often seen upon this platform, is missing. Cardinal Hayes was a member of our Society for thirty years, and following the death of Cardinal Farley, who had also been Honorary President, he also presided for twenty years, until he was called to his eternal reward, on September 4, 1938. A resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the United States Catholic Historical Society, at its last meeting, expresses the affection, sorrow and regret, of the Society, at the passing of the late Cardinal. I call upon our treasurer, Mr. Charles H. Ridder, to read this resolution, which will become a part of this evening's record."

Mr. Ridder then read the following resolution:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the United States Catholic Historical Society in New York City on October 18, 1938 the following resolution was presented and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS the Archbishop of New York, His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes, was summoned by God to his eternal reward on September 4, 1938, after a reign of nineteen years in which he had proved himself to be a saintly and prudent leader of the great Archdiocese; a wise and kindly father to the clergy and all the Religious men and

women, and an ever-inspired and careful pastor of his flock, as well as a generous friend to men and women of all faiths and conditions:

WHEREAS in his sad demise the United States Catholic Historical Society has been deprived not only of our honorary President, which office he had so graciously filled for nineteen years, but also an earnest and faithful member whose encouragement and understanding helped contribute so largely to the success of the United States Catholic Historical Society;

WHEREAS the officials and members of the United States Catholic Historical Society feel a deep and personal sorrow in his death, remembering his faithful attendance at the meetings, despite the many pressing engagements that clamored for his time and attention, and remembering likewise the benevolence with which he greeted the officers and the members personally, rejoicing over the success and always praising the accomplishments; BE IT RESOLVED that we, the members of the Executive Committee of the United States Catholic Historical Society, place upon the record of our Minutes our deep sorrow at the death of His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York and, joining our prayer with that of the Church and of the millions of Catholics who mourn him, we beg of Almighty God that He may rest in eternal peace.

Mr. King then continued:

"Since our last meeting we have sent to the members Volume XXVIII of HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES, which brought the series up to thirty-two printed books—earlier volumes being published in two parts—and the Monograph Series to seventeen volumes. It is now my privilege and pleasure to present the speaker of the evening, who has been invited to deliver the annual historical address. He is a well known educator, famous in the Middle West before coming to New York to become the Dean of the Fordham University School of Education, and he has in the short time he has been in office, made his department an outstanding feature, in graduate institutions. The Society is honored in having Dr. Francis M. Crowley tell us of the evolution of 'Our American Catholic Universities'."

Dr. Crowley's paper in full will be found in the preceding pages of this volume. At its conclusion Mr. King said:

"We thank Dr. Crowley for his valuable and scholarly paper which will be included in the contents of Volume XXIX of RECORDS AND STUDIES which is now being prepared for publication. And now comes one of the pleasantest tasks I have ever had to perform and an opportunity I have been looking forward to for a long time. There are few, if indeed, any students of American Catholic History who have not heard of the Dean of Catholic Historians, Thomas F. Meehan; and no writer of note in that field but holds him in the highest respect for his scholarship. He has been for the last twenty-two years editor of the publications of our Historical Society. On May 17, 1931, Pope Pius XI, in recognition of his outstanding work for Catholic history in the United States made him a Knight of Saint Gregory. He was given the first gold medal, to be awarded annually by the Brooklyn Alumni Sodality to the leading Catholic layman in the Brooklyn Diocese, meriting this signal honor and recognition for distinguished character and service to his Church and fellow men. He has been named by Most Rev. Thomas E. Molloy, Bishop of Brooklyn, as adviser to the Board of Editors who are preparing a new history of the Brooklyn Diocese, under the direction of the Rev. John K. Sharp, a member of our Society. So much for the formal list of distinctions of scholarship, intellectual activity, and Catholic culture that the name of Thomas F. Meehan recalls, when seen in a book or news publication, but there is another side of him, known to all his friends and many of his acquaintances, namely his delightful companionship, his ever ready willingness to share that vast store of facts, that reserve deposit of data, that a clear and unfailing memory has garnered in the eighty-four years he has brightened the world with his presence. As Editor, and contributor to our publications, as an inspiration and a model for us on which to pattern our conduct of the Society, he has proved a vital force in its last forty years. We have told him of our esteem and affection, at banquets and meetings, but words pass into the ether and no sound remains, we have presented him with written expressions of our admiration, but ink fades and parchment crumbles; so, this year, in recognition of his literary activities, his long membership in the United States Catholic Historical Society, and of his editorial work on our

publications, we have decided to make, in a more permanent fashion, an expression of our esteem, regard and admiration for him and his works, by presenting to him this gold medal, enduring in character, and true in its ring. It bears his portrait on its face and on the reverse side this inscription:

“ ‘Awarded for Distinguished Services to Thomas F. Meehan, K. S. G., Historian, Author, Dean of Editors. Born 1854, Member 1898. November 16, 1938.’

“Surely, Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, I know that you join with our Society in wishing him all the blessings that heaven can bestow on a good son of the Church who has fought as faithfully and as mightily with his pen as did the Crusaders with their swords; their battle was against men, his against error and falsehood. May Heaven spare him to us, with health of body and mind, to be the comfort and inspiration of our Society and Catholic Letters.”

At the invitation of President King Bishop Donahue then briefly closed the meeting congratulating Mr. King, Mr. Meehan, and the members of the Historical Society for work they have accomplished not only during the past year but through all the fifty-four years of the society's existence. The Bishop recalled the pleasure that Cardinal Hayes had always received at the Society's meetings and said that he too had experienced the same sense of pleasure and mental refreshment. The Bishop said that he was especially refreshed by the intellectual treat given his audience that evening by Dr. Crowley.

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